

GUSTÁV HUSÁK

PRESIDENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA



SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Interview with Robert Maxwell
and Short Biography

PERGAMON PRESS

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

GUSTÁV HUSÁK was born into a worker's family on 10 January 1913, in Dubravka, which today is in Bratislava. He joined the Union of Communist Youth in 1929, and became a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1933. He then worked among young people and wrote for the progressive press, as well as being a leading official of the Slovak and Czechoslovak Union of Students. He graduated from the Law Faculty of Bratislava University.

Husák joined the anti-fascist resistance when the Communist Party was banned at the end of the 1930s, and in 1943, together with Karol Smidke and Ladislav Novomeský, was responsible for forming the underground Communist Party of Slovakia. This was to unite the patriotic forces in their efforts to gain national liberation and the restoration of Czechoslovakia. Husák took an active part in drafting the programme of the Slovak National Council, which was to become the most important body of the Slovak National Uprising.

Gustáv Husák was one of the leading representatives of the Slovak National Uprising, launched on 29 August 1944. He was also one of the principal organizers of the merger congress of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia which took place in September 1944, and made a significant contribution to the unification of the trade union movement in Slovakia.

In March 1945 Husák went to Moscow with representatives of the Czechoslovak resistance in order to determine the programme and composition of the first government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia he became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a

Continued on back cover

deputy of the National Assembly and also
Chairman of the Council of
Commissioners.

In 1950 Gustav Husák was relieved of his
Party and State duties and arrested in
February 1951. In 1954 he was sentenced
to life imprisonment, but was granted an
amnesty in 1960 and fully rehabilitated,
both politically and legally, in 1963.

During the years 1963-1968 Husák, while
a rank-and-file member of the Party,
condemned the mistakes which had
caused a political and social crisis in
Czechoslovakia. In 1968 he became
Deputy Prime Minister and was elected
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Slovakia. He
also became a member of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of
Czechoslovakia and a member of its
Presidium.

Husák was elected leader of the Party at
the session of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
(CPCZ) on 17 April 1969, and General
Secretary of the Central Committee at the
14th, 15th and 16th Congresses. In May
1975, and again in 1980 and 1985, Gustav
Husák was elected President of the
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

While holding important state appoint-
ments, Husák has dedicated his experience
to obtaining the most favourable
conditions for the Czechoslovak people.
He has participated in many international
talks and conferences, both at home and
abroad, and written numerous articles and
several books devoted to the struggle of
the Czechoslovak people to gain freedom.

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GUSTÁV HUSÁK



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GUSTÁV HUSÁK

President of Czechoslovakia

Speeches and Writings



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To the Reader

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To the Reader

First of all I would like to thank Mr. Robert Maxwell, Chairman of Pergamon Press, for his initiative and efforts in connection with the publication of this book. I hope that it will help the public in the United Kingdom and English-speaking world to understand better the concerns and aspirations of the Czechoslovak people, the starting points and objectives of their efforts aimed at the development of socialist society.

I am aware of the deep differences in opinions concerning the evaluation of real socialism in the present-day world. However, I believe that the book will acquaint the reader with the motives behind the decision of the Czechoslovak people to embark on a socialist road and to proceed along it consistently. The revolutionary changes which resulted from the national and democratic revolution and from the struggle for people's power in the postwar years were the culmination of many years of dedicated struggles for national existence, State independence, fundamental social rights, of the entire logic of the internal motion of the modern history of our nations.

The socialist system has fully proved its worth in Czechoslovak conditions in dealing with the fundamental national and social questions, in efforts to meet the requirements of social justice, and to develop socialist democracy and peaceful life of our people.

Individual sections of the book, dealing with the period beginning with the early 1970s, not only trace the progress made in the building of a new society but also speak openly of attendant difficulties. I would be glad if the reader, in assessing the balance-sheet and the prospects of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, bore in mind that socialism, as a historically new social order, is not a closed system, but that it is undergoing constant changes in its dynamic development, that it is looking for, verifying and creatively enriching ways and means how to develop its possibilities and superior qualities more fully. In this sense, our further progress depends especially on the speeding up of socio-economic development, and on further perfection of the socialist political system.

Not only social progress but the continued existence of mankind itself are today possible only if world peace is preserved. Also for Czechoslovakia, whose location in the heart of Europe subjected it to so many difficult trials in the course of centuries, the decisive priority is that the

danger of war and the threat of nuclear destruction be averted, and international developments returned onto the path of détente. We are taking an active part in the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, in their efforts to promote peaceful coexistence and constructive international co-operation. Also in the future, we will do everything in our power for all progressive, democratic, realistic forces in the world, irrespective of their political and philosophical views and religious beliefs, to find a common language, especially with regard to this issue crucial for the future of mankind.

In conclusion, I would like to greet all readers who are interested in the experiences and achievements of the Czechoslovak people and who follow their efforts to build a life in peace and freedom.

GUSTÁV HUSÁK

Před

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Předmluva

Chtěl bych především ocenit iniciativu a úsilí Roberta Maxwella, předsedy vydavatelství Pergamon - Press, při vydání tohoto sborníku. Doufám, že přispěje k tomu, aby veřejnost ve Velké Británii a celý anglicky mluvící svět hlouběji pochopili, čím dnes žije, oč usiluje, z čeho vychází a kam směřuje československý lid ve svém úsilí o rozvoj socialistické společnosti.

Jsem si vědom hlubokých rozdílů v názorech na hodnocení reálného socialismu v dnešním světě. Věřím však, že tato kniha čtenářům přiblíží hluboké příčiny, které vedly československý lid k rozhodnutí nastoupit socialistickou cestu a důsledně po ní pokračovat. Revoluční přeměny, vzešlé z národní a demokratické revoluce a zápasu za lidovou moc v poválečných letech, byly vyústěním mnohaletých obětivných zápasů za národní existenci, státní samostatnost, základní sociální práva, celé logiky vnitřního pohybu moderních dějin našich národů.

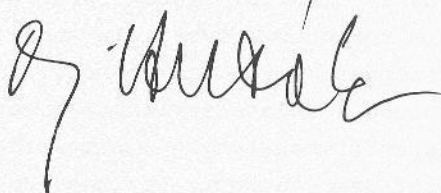
Socialistické zřízení se v československých podmínkách v praxi plně osvědčilo při řešení základních národních a sociálních otázek, při naplňování požadavků sociální spravedlnosti, při rozvíjení socialistické demokracie a mírového života našeho lidu.

V materiálech sborníku, zahrnujících období od počátku 70. let, se stejně jako o pokroku v budování nové společnosti otevřeně hovoří i o obtížích, které je provázejí. Byl bych rád, kdyby čtenáři při posuzování bilance i perspektiv ČSSR měli na zřeteli, že socialismus jako historicky nový společenský řád není uzavřeným systémem, ale ve svém dynamickém vývoji prochází nepřetržitými proměnami, hledá, ověřuje a tvořivě obohacuje cesty a způsoby, jak plněji rozvíjet své možnosti a přednosti. V tomto smyslu spojujeme náš další postup zejména s urychlením sociálně ekonomického rozvoje a s dalším zdokonačováním socialistického politického systému.

Nejen společenský pokrok, ale samo zachování existence lidstva jsou dnes možné jen při udržení světového míru. Také pro Československo, které jeho poloha v srdci Evropy vystavila v průběhu staletí tolika těžkým zkouškám, je rozhodující prioritou odvrácení válečného nebezpečí, hrozby jaderné zkázy, návrat mezinárodního vývoje na cestu uvolnění. Aktivně se podílíme na mírových iniciativách socialistických zemí, na úsilí o rozvoj mírového soužití a konstruktivní mezinárodní spolupráce. Budeme i v budoucnu podle svých možností usilovat, aby všechny pokrokové, demokratické, realistické síly ve světě bez rozdílu politického, filozofického a náboženského přesvědčení našly především v této klíčové otázce budoucnosti lidstva společný jazyk.

Na závěr bych chtěl pozdravit všechny čtenáře, kteří se zajímají o zkušenosti a výsledky československého lidu a sledují jeho úsilí o mírový a svobodný život.

G U S T Á V H U Š Á K



Introd Rober

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Introduction by Robert Maxwell

Gustav Husak has been leader of this key socialist republic in the heart of Europe for seventeen years. He came to power at a time of great difficulty, a time of dissension, and of strife and turmoil. In 1969 he became leader of a country which had been deeply divided by the events of the previous year, but also of a country which had been severely tested in almost every decade of its short half-century of life. Czechoslovakia is a country of two nations born out of the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian state in 1918, weaned on troubles between disputing nationalist minorities in the twenties and thirties, and brought to maturity when confronted by Hitler's brutal occupation after its cynical betrayal by Britain and France at Munich. The razing to the ground of Lidice in June 1942 symbolises to the Czech and Slovak peoples all that was to be feared in German hegemony. Husak, lawyer, journalist, writer, but above all fierce nationalist and fighter for his country, believed, like Beneš and all other postwar Czechoslovak leaders, that Czechoslovakia had no alternative, after Munich, other than to turn to the Soviet Union as guarantor of its independence. It is this belief that has guided him throughout his political life, and led to his being purged in 1950 and his subsequent six years' imprisonment before his release in 1960.

It took only a few years for this impressive man to win his way back into influence and power. In January 1968 he became Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Czechoslovakia and Party Leader in Slovakia, a position which took him into the centre of events later that year. He does not hold back from boldly asserting the problems of the mid-sixties, the path he followed and why. In his own message to the reader he points to those documents which deal with the period, and says they "not only trace the progress made in the building of a new society but also speak openly of attendant difficulties". His report to the 14th Congress of the CPCz in 1971 is a fascinating and unique contemporary

account of the management of traumatic change within the Communist system.

He has brought stability and economic progress to his country. In my interview with him he explains his concern for security which has so influenced his thinking, developed from personal experience of recent history. He believes, and I agree with him, that the first step in reducing East-West tension lies in a greater mutual understanding of each other's fears, philosophies and hopes for the future. This book is intended to help that purpose. Commentary, interpretation and analysis is always important, but for the serious student, politician, diplomat, journalist or other interested reader there is no substitute for an examination of original sources and materials. This book presents a selection of speeches and writings chosen personally by Gustav Husak which are not otherwise available.

In this collection he reveals his desire for greater co-operation at all levels' including closer trade links both bilaterally and through EEC-CMEA negotiations. He is quite clear about his warning on any attempt to change the postwar arrangement dividing Germany into East and West, and when asked about Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia points to US troops in West Germany which he believes threaten his western border. Coupled with his plans for substantial economic growth between now and the turn of the century, the priority development of East-West trade can be a very important way of reducing tension and averting even the possibility of conflict. Nations committed to and dependent upon each other do not usually go to war. "The decisive priority", says President Husak, "is that the danger of war and of nuclear destruction be averted." I hope that this book can help, in some small way, towards that priority being achieved.

ROBERT MAXWELL

Oxford, September 1986

Short

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Short Biography

Gustáv Husák was born on 10 January 1913 in the small village of Dúbravka which is today a part of Bratislava; he was the third child in a working-class family. His father worked mainly in a stone quarry, and as a seasonal farmhand. His mother, whose maiden name was Fratricová, died a year after his birth. When his father was sent to the front after the outbreak of the First World War, he and his two small sisters were left in the care of their grandmother.

He grew up in poor social conditions. From his youth, he learnt the harsh truth about the world of the rich and the world of the poor. Only when the teacher who had recognized his abilities recommended it strongly did the Husák family consent to his studies at a secondary school in Bratislava. He was one of three boys who, in the history of his native village, attended the secondary school, and the first who acquired university education. He covered the expenses of his studies mostly by teaching children from affluent families and by working in factories during vacations.

His bitter childhood experiences in an environment of village poverty, his reading of socialist literature, his strong sense of social justice and contacts with the revolutionary workers' movement in Bratislava showed him the way to Marxism-Leninism. He joined the Communist Union of Youth in 1929, and became a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1933. In the autumn of 1933 he began his studies at the Faculty of Law at the Komenský (Comenius) University of Bratislava. By then, he was taking a deep interest in politics and participating actively in political life. He became a leading personality of the Communist Spolek socialistických akademikov (Club of Socialist Academics), and initiated the publication of its periodical *Šíp* (The Arrow) which he began to edit in March 1934.

From 1934 he actively participated in a committee of the Slovak leadership of the Communist Party which co-ordinated activities among working-class and farm youth and students. He was also influential in

the leading bodies of the *Zväz československého studentstva* (Union of Czechoslovak Students). It was he who played a decisive part in uniting the antifascist forces in these organizations. He also attended international congresses of students—in Paris in 1935 and in Glasgow three years later.

His political development was strongly influenced by the unification of democratic forces, the victory of the Popular Front in France, and the struggle of Republican Spain against Franco. On behalf of the Communist Party, he spoke at numerous public meetings against the fascist danger, in defence of the Czechoslovak Republic against the threat of Hitlerite aggression, and for the creation of a united people's front. Already by then, he was co-operating closely with the Party press, and contributing to the periodical of the revolutionary intelligentsia, *DAV*.

From early youth he was attracted to the historical path showed by the Great October Socialist Revolution and by the example of the Soviet Union. A close relationship to the first country of socialism has become his lifelong credo. In 1937 he became secretary of the *Spoločnosť pre hospodárske a kultúrne styky so Sovietskym zväzom* (Society for Economic and Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union) in Slovakia.

In 1937 he completed his university studies and earned the degree of doctor of law. However, politics remained at the centre of his activities.

In 1938 he married Magda Lokvencová, with whom he worked in the progressive students' movement. From this marriage, his first son Vladimír was born in 1944, and his second son Jan in 1946.

The Munich agreement of 1938 brought about the destruction of prewar Czechoslovakia. The setting up of the Protectorate established direct Nazi terrorist dictatorship in Bohemia and Moravia; in the Slovak state, Hitler's Germany asserted its hegemony mainly through the domestic clericofascist forces. The Communist Party, with all other democratic organizations, was banned.

A resistance movement against the fascist rule came into being. The Communist Party went underground. From the outset, Gustáv Husák took part in the work of its illegal municipal leadership in Bratislava. He was taken several times into custody, and was interrogated and jailed.

The struggle against fascism required enormous sacrifices. Police persecution broke up four illegal central leaderships of the Communist Party of Slovakia. In August 1943 the 5th illegal central leadership of the Party was formed. Its members were Karol Šmidke, sent to Slovakia by Klement Gottwald's Moscow-based leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Gustáv Husák and the poet Ladislav Novomeský.

The work of the 5th illegal central leadership of the Communist Party

of Slovakia led to the liberation of Slovakia. This was followed by the liberation of Stalingrad and the theatres of operation. In December 1943 the Soviet Union entered the war in exile in London and co-operation. Just as the movement of the

In view of the fact that the Communist Party of Slovakia had led an anti-fascist uprising

Gustáv Husák was a member of the Slovak National Council, drawing-up of the constitution in 1943. The Communist Party of Slovakia resistance agreed to an armed uprising as a united, truly national movement based on alliance

Gustáv Husák was a principle that the Communist Party of Slovakia equal nations—social needs of the

The Slovak National Council was the largest anti-fascist movement, the people held territory and out revolutionary

From the outset, the leading representatives of the Council and Communist Party system of people's National Council defence of the country strengthen the movement in the uprising course of action

Gustáv Husák was the unification of the Communist Party of Slovakia Social Democratic Party which he was

of Slovakia led to a fundamental turn in the anti-fascist struggle in Slovakia. This was at the time when the victories of the Soviet Army at Stalingrad and in the Kursk salient, and of the allied forces in other theatres of operations, changed the course of the Second World War. In December 1943 the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak government in exile in London concluded a treaty of friendship, assistance and post-war co-operation. Just as in all the other occupied countries, the resistance movement of the Czechoslovak people was growing in strength.

In view of the situation, the 5th illegal leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia decided to start preparations for a nationwide armed anti-fascist uprising.

Gustáv Husák played a decisive part in the establishment of the Slovak National Council as the only resistance centre, and in the drawing-up of its programme—the Christmas Accord of December 1943. The Communist Party and the most important forces of bourgeois resistance agreed to overthrow the fascist regime in Slovakia by an armed uprising of the people, and to restore the Czechoslovak Republic as a united, truly democratic state which would pursue a foreign policy based on alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Gustáv Husák played a great role in securing the acceptance of the principle that Czechoslovakia should be built as a common state of two equal nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks—in which the legitimate social needs of broad sections of the people would be met.

The Slovak National Uprising, declared on 29 August 1944, was one of the largest anti-fascist actions in occupied Europe. Deep in the rear of the enemy, the people succeeded for two months in defending the patriot-held territory against much larger Nazi forces, and in starting to carry out revolutionary changes.

From the outbreak of the uprising, Gustáv Husák was one of its leading representatives. As Deputy Chairman of the Slovak National Council and Commissioner of the Interior, he initiated the building of a system of people's power, directed the activity of the revolutionary National Committees, and organized the mobilization of forces in defence of the patriot-held territory. He exerted great efforts to strengthen the joint combat union of the regular army units, participating in the uprising, with the partisan movement, to secure a common course of action of Communist and other political forces.

Gustáv Husák deserves great credit for the preparation and results of the unification congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the Social Democratic Party on 17 September 1944, in Banská Bystrica, at which he was elected Deputy Chairman of the Communist Party of

Slovakia in the autumn of 1947, and ended with their defeat. Gustáv Husák's stand and his political activity played an important role in this.

The decisive political confrontation in Czechoslovakia took place in February 1948. The attempt of bourgeois leaders to drive out the Communists from the government ended in failure. Gustáv Husák participated actively in thwarting their plans in Slovakia. During the February events, he was the main speaker at a mass public demonstration in Bratislava.

February 1948 opened the door to deep socialist transformations in Czechoslovakia. Gustáv Husák dealt with their gradual realization in Slovakia in the programme statement of the Board of Commissioners in March 1948. In addition to his chairmanship of the Board of Commissioners, he was put in charge of the Department of Food in January 1949, and in May of the same year he was appointed head of the farm policy department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia. At the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which worked out the general line of socialist construction, he was elected member of the Central Committee of the Party.

At the end of March 1950 Gustáv Husák was subjected to unjustified criticism and, on the basis of fabricated accusations, deprived of his Party and state functions. He was arrested in 1951, and in an unlawful trial in 1954 sentenced to life imprisonment. He was set free in May 1960, and legally and politically rehabilitated in 1963.

As a collaborator of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, he devoted himself to scientific and publicizing work, mainly on questions relating to the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people in the Second World War and its bequest of the development of a socialist society. He wrote a book, *Svedectvo o Slovenskom národnom povstaní* (*Testimony to the Slovak National Uprising*). The publication of the book was an event of scientific and political importance, and drew extraordinary response. The book was later published in a number of countries.

Already then, as a rank-and-file member of the Party, he had pointed to the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of Party and state bodies which had aggravated the political and social crisis in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1960s.

Wishing to contribute to a positive development of society after January 1968, he accepted the function of a deputy premier in the Czechoslovak government. He spoke out publicly against the destructive activities of the right wing in the Party and against the anti-socialist

forces in society which threatened the foundations of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia and its external political ties.

In late August 1968 Gustáv Husák took part in the talks between Czechoslovak and Soviet political representatives in Moscow. He contributed substantially towards the formulation and adoption of proposals at the talks for overcoming the crisis. He followed a firm course towards socialist consolidation in his positions as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, entrusted to him at the end of August 1968.

At its session on 17 April 1969 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia elected Gustáv Husák its First Secretary. It was an important milestone in his life, and in the development of the Communist Party, the Czechoslovak state and society.

Thanks to the goal-orientated course of action of the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Gustáv Husák, the political struggle for consolidation of socio-political conditions was successfully completed in a relatively short time. In the spring of 1971 the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was held, and adopted a programme of further development of Czechoslovak society. Gustáv Husák was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The programme, presented at the 14th Congress by Gustáv Husák, was based on the fact that, from the beginning of the 1970s, Czechoslovakia had entered a new stage of socio-economic development—the stage of building an advanced socialist society, which required the solution of a number of qualitatively new tasks.

On the basis of the results which were achieved, and with the new needs of the development of society taken into account, the line of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party was elaborated further at the 15th Congress in 1976 and at the 16th Congress of the Party in 1981. At these Congresses, as well as at the 17th Congress in March 1986, Gustáv Husák delivered programme reports of the Central Committee, and was re-elected General Secretary.

For his high merit in the national liberation struggle, in the endeavour to establish people's power and in the building of a socialist society, as well as for his personal qualities, Gustáv Husák has earned the great confidence of the Czechoslovak public, and high authority. This was manifest also in his election, as the candidate of the National Front, to the office of the President of the republic on 29 May 1975. He was re-elected as head of state in 1980 and 1985.

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Systematic everyday work in carrying out the resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has become the main content of Gustáv Husák's efforts as a politician and statesman, and of his entire life.

He devotes his main attention to the tasks of socio-economic development, which he describes as the central area of the struggle for socialism. He deals with them in a large part of his speeches and addresses in which he analyses and assesses especially the profound changes which have taken place since the early 1970s in the domestic and external conditions of Czechoslovakia's socio-economic development. He stresses the necessity of swift adaptability to the new conditions, and the need for efforts to raise the effectiveness of the national economy and to speed up its intensification. He points out from the beginning that these efforts must be linked with the greater role of science and technology, with structural changes in the economy, with improvements in the planning and management of the national economy, and of the functioning of the entire economic mechanism.

Gustáv Husák consistently links solutions to all questions of economic development with the strengthening of social certainties and with raising the standards of living.

He devotes special attention to the deepening of Czechoslovakia's participation in the process of international socialist integration. In 1984 he attended the economic summit of CMEA member states in Moscow. In 1985 he signed programmes of long-term economic and scientific-technological co-operation up to the year 2000 between Czechoslovakia and the USSR, and with other countries of the socialist community.

An inseparable part of Gustáv Husák's many-sided political activity is his great concern for the development of the socialist state, for the work of all component parts of the political system, for the deepening of socialist democracy, and strict observance of socialist legality. The state-legal federative structure adopted, on his initiative, in 1969 has proved its worth, contributing to the strengthening of fraternal relations between the Czech and Slovak nations, and to the deepening of the unity and development of the Czechoslovak state.

At the instance of Gustáv Husák, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Czechoslovak government adopted measures in 1982 which substantially extended the role and powers of National Committees as elected territorial bodies of state power and administration.

Gustáv Husák—also as Chairman of the Central Committee of the

National Front of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic since 1971—places great stress on the constant strengthening of the National Front as an alliance of social forces. He sees to it that all its component parts, which also include two Czech and two Slovak non-Communist political parties, as well as social and group-interest organizations of working people, participate actively in decision making and in the exercise of power. He meets regularly with representatives of the revolutionary trade union movement, youth, women's and other social organizations, and speaks at their congresses and sessions.

Aspects of ideological work and of the development of culture, education and the arts, and the transformation of social consciousness, have an important place in the political and state activities of Gustáv Husák. In many of his addresses, speeches and articles he stresses the need for a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

He attaches great importance to the education of working people by history, to the broadening of the historical perception of the people. In his speeches and articles dealing with lessons from national and revolutionary struggles, he returns repeatedly to the historical sources of the present, to the logic and meaning of the Czechoslovak revolution. He underlines that the people's choice of the socialist orientation was the logical outcome of Czechoslovak history, that it grew out from the deep internal needs of social development and the historical experience of the masses, and from the struggle for national and social rights of the Czech and Slovak nations.

He emphasizes that the indispensable prerequisite of the development of society and socialist consciousness is the strengthening of relations between the Czech and Slovak peoples and the ethnic minorities in the Czechoslovak state. He regards the unity of the Czechoslovak people as one of the most valuable historical gains.

It is his conviction that differences in world outlook and philosophy must not be an obstacle to the unity of the people. He stresses too that the socialist state respects the religious feelings of believers, the absolute majority of whom support the programme of socialist construction and contribute actively to its implementation.

Permanently in the forefront of Gustáv Husák's attention is care for the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist character of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, improvement of its internal life, growth of its leading role in society, and reinforcement of its ties with the working people. The authority of the Communist Party and the popular support for its policy is also reflected in the growth of its membership

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Gustáv Husák, as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, participates extensively in world affairs, in the international dialogue on ways leading to the preservation of peace, to the prevention of a global nuclear conflict, to disarmament and for a positive turn in international relations.

The strengthening of Czechoslovakia's relations with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community is in the forefront of Gustáv Husák's international activity. In May 1970 he played a leading role in the conclusion of a new treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union, and in subsequent years with other states of the socialist community. As a representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, he attends meetings of the highest representatives of the socialist countries on international problems and topical aspects of co-operation between the states of the socialist community. He has regular bilateral meetings with leading representatives of allied countries. On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, he attended and addressed the 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as a number of Congresses of Communist and workers' parties of other fraternal socialist countries.

Gustáv Husák maintains broad and intensive contacts with prominent political personalities in developing countries.

As the leading representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and a prominent personality in the international Communist and workers' movement, he meets regularly with representatives of revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. He has visited Cuba, Libya, Ethiopia, Syria, India, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Mongolia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and Yemen.

He attaches great importance to the development of normal relations with advanced capitalist countries in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and in the interest of mutually advantageous political, economic, scientific-technological and cultural co-operation. This is also the purpose of his numerous talks with leading politicians of these states.

Negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany were held under the guidance of Gustáv Husák. In 1974 they resulted in the signing of an agreement between Czechoslovakia and the FRG which recognized the nullity of the Munich pact and created conditions for normalization of

relations between the two states. Gustáv Husák visited the FRG, and is also the first President in the history of Czechoslovakia since its birth in 1918 to pay an official visit to Austria.

In the summer of 1975 Gustáv Husák attended the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Helsinki. His speech at the World Assembly for Peace and Life against Nuclear War, held in Prague in 1983, met with a great response.

The entire international political activity of Gustáv Husák is aimed at promoting *détente* and at finding solutions to the pressing problems of mankind, in the spirit of the joint peace initiatives of the socialist countries. He proceeds from his deep conviction of the indivisible unity of socialism and peace, and of the indispensability of peaceful coexistence as the only alternative for mankind's future. By all this, he has earned high authority among the peoples of the world.

In the 1980s the development of Czechoslovak society has been taking place in increasingly demanding international and domestic conditions, connected with profound changes in the alignment of international forces, with dynamic scientific and technological progress, and other factors. Gustáv Husák emphasizes that this now places much higher demands on the activities of the Communist Party and the socialist state, on the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, on improvements in all spheres of the life of society, and on the growth of social activity.

It was in this spirit that the 17th Party Congress was held and concluded in March 1986. The programme which was adopted at the Congress aims for the speeding up of the dynamics of the socio-economic and socio-political developments of Czechoslovak society, until the end of the eighties and, in the longer perspective, until the year 2000. In particular, it means the speedy implementation of the scientific technological progress, the strengthening of socialist democracy and the widening of Czechoslovak participation in the process of international socialist integration. This also necessitates the raising of the level of all management, the perfecting of the functions of economic mechanism, the better use of advantages and possibilities of the socialist system in the interest of greater satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people.

Gustáv Husák views the future of Czechoslovakia with sober optimism. He regards as fully justified the good prospects based on its most valuable asset—the initiative of man for whom socialism has become the realization of his aspirations, of man who draws his resolve and

strength from the fact that he is the user of all riches of his country.

Gustáv Husák is the author of several books. In recognition of his achievements he has received the awards of numerous decorations.

strength from the fact that he is the free, sovereign master, creator and user of all riches of his country.

Gustáv Husák is extensively active as a publicist; he has written several books. In recognition of his work, he has been honoured by the awards of numerous Czechoslovak and foreign orders and decorations.

1.

Address delivered at a ceremonial session on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet (Red) Army 8 May 1985

Esteemed Guests, Dear Friends, Comrades!

It is with deep emotion that we are today recalling the glorious May of forty years ago, when with the crushing of Hitlerite Nazism the Second World War ended in Europe. The victorious culmination of the national liberation struggle and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army* brought the Czechoslovak people the restoration of national freedom and state independence. 9 May 1945 became the symbol of the beginning of our new life, the day on which, with gratitude and love, fighting Prague welcomed its liberators.

The march of time is continuously bringing new events and these are overshadowing the past happenings. The memory of nations will, however, forever retain the tremendous efforts and vast sacrifices which had to be made before victory could be achieved. The nations will never forget that it was the Soviet Union which deserved decisive credit for the defeat of fascism and the salvation of human civilization. Its heroic example roused millions of people to take up the fight against Nazi subjugation. The influence and attraction of the ideas of socialism grew

*Throughout the war and in the immediate postwar years, the title *Red Army* was used. This was later changed to *Soviet Army*. Technically, therefore, it was the *Red Army* that liberated Prague in 1945.

immensely. Victorious national and democratic revolutions in a number of countries led to the establishment of popular power and prepared the way for the birth of the socialist community. All of this had and still has a determining influence on the direction of international development as a whole.

That is also why the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism is arousing such a strong response throughout the world. Reactionary circles are attempting with all available means to distort the causes and essence, the course and outcome of the great struggle of the nations for freedom and progress. They question the validity of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, which laid down the postwar structure. They are inciting perilous manifestations of revanchism, demands for a revision of the territorial and political realities in Europe created as a result of the victory over fascism, realities which form the unshakeable foundation of peace on our continent.

Our people, which suffered so greatly and sacrificed so much, has the right to protest with all its might against attempts to belittle Nazi crimes. The nations which had to pay for the defeat of Nazism with millions of dead will never tolerate this. The legacy of the fallen, the obligation towards the living and their commitment to the coming generations charge them to pay constant heed to the lessons flowing from the Second World War. Most important of all is to do the utmost to forestall in good time the outbreak of a new, global war and to preserve the peace.

Comrades!

The Czechoslovak people, which was one of the first victims of Hitlerite aggression, never reconciled itself to occupation. For six years it waged an irreconcilable struggle against fascist domination in immensely difficult conditions. During this struggle it demonstrated great moral strength and courage. Its resistance was broken neither by mass terror and cruel persecution nor by executions and concentration camps.

With deep respect we pay homage to the immortal memory of hundreds of thousands of known as well as unknown patriots who took part in the home- and foreign-based resistance. They fought dauntlessly in the underground movement, in partisan units, in the Slovak National Uprising and in the May Uprising of the Czech People. They fought in the ranks of the First Czechoslovak Army Corps in the Soviet Union as well as on other fronts of the Second World War. They contributed nobly by their blood and lives to the liberation of our homeland. It is due to them that our nations occupied an honourable place in the victorious

anti-Hitlerite coalition, the national liberation struggle, the patriotism. They brought about the movement to renewed peace.

We recall the struggle which provides the great lessons of the struggles of the future generations which will be the result of the struggles which caused the destruction of the nations, of the social order, the leading role of the working class and from which the new world was forged.

One of our main tasks should be to consider it their duty to

The march of the political stream of the bourgeoisie in the resolving social and national guarantees of the people, the significant progress with the Munich collaboration with the tragic experience that a more just and a new leap

The Communist Party among the people of the Republic, the most determined of the slovakia.

What sort of wanted, had the Uprising. In the enthusiastic sentiment the be

The great guiding force of the sacrifice-filled

anti-Hitlerite coalition. For us, the heroism and sacrifices of the people in the national liberation struggle are a source of national pride and patriotism. They are a living fount of determination and total commitment to renewed effort.

We recall these memorable events in the awareness that history provides the greatest school for the nations. The great class and national struggles of the forties remind their contemporaries, and enlighten the generations which have not experienced them, about the circumstances which caused the fundamental turn in the historical destinies of our nations, of the sources from which our present was born, from which the leading role of the working class and of the Communist Party has grown, and from which our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union were forged.

One of our most important tasks is concern that the coming generations should assimilate the dearly paid experiences of the people, to consider it their honourable duty to protect and display this legacy.

The march of historical events has tested not only people but also political streams and their ideologies. In the twenty years of its rule the bourgeoisie in pre-war Czechoslovakia had been incapable either of resolving social and nationality questions or of securing reliable international guarantees of the existence of our state. It disappointed the hopes of the people, which rightly saw in the inception of our state in 1918 significant progress for our nations. The bourgeoisie climaxed its era with the Munich capitulation and, much of it, also with treachery and collaboration with the occupying power. Under the influence of these tragic experiences, the conviction ripened in broad sections of the people that a more just order had to be forcibly established in the restored state, and a new leadership put at the head of our nations.

The Communist Party was gaining increasing trust and support among the people. It was the most consistent fighter for the defence of the Republic, the most selfless force in the national liberation struggle, the most determined factor in the struggle for a new, people's Czechoslovakia.

What sort of society and state, what sort of policy and allies the people wanted, had already become apparent during the Slovak National Uprising. In the liberated insurgent areas the popular masses began enthusiastically to carry out revolutionary transformations which represented the beginning of our national and democratic revolution.

The great ideas of national freedom and social justice were also a guiding force of the anti-fascist struggle of the Czech people, whose sacrifice-filled fight against the occupiers culminated exactly forty years

ago in the memorable May Uprising. We recall with gratitude the heroism of Czech patriots who in the spirit of the revolutionary traditions of the people, rose up in Prague and in hundreds of other towns and communities against the hated fascist subjugation. Due to the communists, and under the influence of the working class and broad popular masses, who took the decisive share in combat actions, the rising had a strongly progressive character. It contributed to the thwarting of the Nazis' plans in the concluding phase of the war and to the completion of the liberation of our country. It deserves significant credit for establishing our people's democratic power. It occupies an honourable place in our national liberation struggle and it constitutes a glorious chapter of our modern history.

Comrades!

Our anti-fascist struggle was inseparably linked with the heroic fight of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. Our people drew encouragement, courage and hope in the darkest hours from the famous victories of the Soviet Army near Moscow, at Stalingrad, at Kursk and in other great battles.

Already in the course of last year and during the first months of this jubilee year, at rallies throughout the country—in Banská Bystrica, at the Dukla Pass, in Košice, Bratislava, Brno, Ostrava and, in the last few days, also in Prague—millions of our citizens recollected the joyous moments when forty years ago the victorious Soviet troops brought them their liberation. These will forever rank among the happiest hours in the history of our nations.

With profound respect we pay tribute to the memory of the Soviet heroes who fought and died also for our freedom. We will never forget that our alliance with the Soviet Union was born in the common fight and was sealed by the blood shed together.

In their eventful history our nations have had to undergo frequent and hard struggles for their very being. The Munich tragedy showed what fateful significance the securing of international guarantees of their existence held for them. This question was settled once and for all, with final validity by our alliance with the Soviet Union. Our people therefore sees in friendship with the First Socialist State of the world the supreme legacy of its national liberation struggle, the firm and enduring international guarantee of its statehood.

Fifteen years ago we signed, here at Prague Castle, the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Aid with the Soviet Union,

following up the difficult war years continue to tighten with the Soviet Union are marked by full operation is constant

We send warm Leninist Communist Soviet friends that

Today we are Hitlerite coalition of Americans all nationalities common enemy. Yugoslavia, France the struggle against

Comrades!

A new, people's sufferings of war, the leading position National Front, and with the decision continuing unfolding new political struggle was a programme Slovak nations, and for a new force directed toward

Millions of immense energy selflessness. The revolutionary youth and youth. They successfully press create a people's They shared in hundreds of the permanent home struggles of the

following up the memorable treaty of alliance already concluded in the difficult war years, in December 1943. In the spirit of this treaty we shall continue to tighten and develop in every possible way our fraternal ties with the Soviet Union. We deeply appreciate the fact that our relations are marked by full, mutual trust and understanding, and that our co-operation is constantly widening and enriching itself.

We send warm greetings from today's session to the Soviet people, its Leninist Communist Party and its Central Committee. We assure our Soviet friends that we will always remain faithful to our treaty.

Today we are also recalling the share of all other states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the common victory. We appreciate the contribution of Americans, British, Polish and Romanian soldiers, of members of all nationalities who fought on Czechoslovak territory against the common enemy. We recollect the merits and sacrifices of the people of Yugoslavia, France and Greece, as well as of other countries engaged in the struggle against fascism.

Comrades!

A new, people's democratic Czechoslovakia rose out of the horrors and sufferings of war, a Czechoslovakia in which the working people took up the leading position. The programme of the first Government of the National Front, proclaimed at Košice, was worked out at the initiative and with the decisive say of the communists. It was a programme of the continuing unfolding of the national and democratic revolution, of a new political structure, of the profound democratization of social life. It was a programme for equal, fraternal relations between the Czech and Slovak nations, for far-reaching economic, social and cultural reforms and for a new foreign policy. It was a programme for building a society directed toward the aim of socialism.

Millions of working people whom the revolution imbued with immense energy set about building this society with enthusiasm and selflessness. They set up Revolutionary National Committees, built revolutionary unified trades unions, a unified organization of farmers and youth. They began to restore the war-ravaged economy. They successfully pressed for nationalization and land reform. They helped create a people's army and new security organs dedicated to the people. They shared in the resettlement of the Czech border regions, where hundreds of thousands of people from all over our state found a permanent home. In the work of construction and in the great political struggles of the post-war years the working people successfully defended

the legacy of the national liberation struggle against the attacks of reaction. In the memorable February of 1948 the working people resolutely thwarted the attempt to deprive them of their revolutionary gains.

Today, we are turning with warm feelings to the members of those generations who bore the weight of the years of war and resistance, who fulfilled the tasks of postwar restoration, won over reaction and began the building of socialism. We want to say to them, gratefully: you have accomplished immensely meritorious work, you have fought through great revolutionary achievements, you have created for us the lasting foundations and values of the present.

The roots of the Czechoslovak revolution of 1944-8 reach far into the history of our nations. It is the continuation and culmination of lengthy struggles against capitalist exploitation and oppression. In the struggle for freedom and people's democracy a broad union of the working people of towns and villages, headed by the working class, joined forces under the leadership of the Communist Party in the National Front. The overwhelming majority of our people opted of its own free will for a socialist course. This unity, and the interweaving of national, democratic and socialist tasks, gave the revolutionary movement in this country specific forms with great dynamism and depth. Yet, even in the specific conditions of Czechoslovakia, the truth and general validity of Marxism-Leninism were fully endorsed. We can say quite sincerely that under the leadership of the Communist Party our people took full advantage of the historic opportunity which followed from the crushing of Nazi power and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

Comrades!

Four decades separate us already from the birth of our new freedom. They present a proud record of the victorious struggles and creative labour of the people. Despite all obstacles and difficulties we have fulfilled the main tasks of the transition from capitalism to socialism, we have built the foundations of socialism and we have set about building an advanced socialist society. Millions of people have placed their hopes, efforts and abilities in the building of socialism. It is due to them that our homeland has become, for fifteen-and-a-half million of our citizens, a true home in which they can live and work freely.

The position of the working man has changed fundamentally. Socialism has given him genuine human dignity and has truly secured his rights and freedoms. Exploitation, class and national oppression and

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discrimination have been eliminated forever. The people has become the ruler, manager, creator and consumer of everything of value.

Thanks to the selfless work of the people, our society is politically stable, socially consolidated, economically strong and culturally developed. It is based on the firm unity of the workers, farmers and intelligentsia. In its dynamic development it is demonstrating its ability to perfect itself continuously, to reject everything that has not proved itself or has become outdated, to search for and verify new ways and means. It is a society of creative activity, essentially forward-looking, open to new ideas and initiatives; a society which is justified in looking with confidence to the future.

Among the principal sources of our development is the working and political activity of the popular masses. The democratic nature of our society lies in the fact that it is the working people who are forming the representative organs throughout the country. It lies in the fact that some 200,000 Deputies, in addition to hundreds of thousands of members of commissions of National Committees of all levels, implement state power and administration, within the scope of their authority, with broad citizen participation. Our socialist democracy, that is, the political system of our National Front, is uniting all our people—Communists, members of other political parties, non-Party members and members of social organizations—in harmonious work for the prosperity of our homeland.

An important part of our socialist democracy is the many-sided activity of more than seven million members of the Revolutionary Trades Union Movement in the application of the interests and rights of the working people, in the expansion of their participation in the management of and co-responsibility for high quality work and its results. Another aspect of our socialist democracy is the fact that hundreds of thousands of farmers are administering such an important sector of our economy as co-operative agriculture.

The purpose and content of our socialist democracy are being realized through the activity of all organizations of the National Front, in which millions of people—workers from all sectors, women and young people—are actively pursuing their interests and taking daily part in social happenings. We know that the existing possibilities are not being fully utilized everywhere, and that the necessary scope for people's initiative is not being provided everywhere, because of formal and bureaucratic approaches. We shall do our utmost to enable this broad stream of democracy to continue to deepen as the main direction of the development of our political system, and to enrich the forms of popular

participation in the shaping, implementation and control of policy.

We are fully justified in saying that from the point of view of the working man our system is incomparably more democratic than any bourgeois democracy, in which, though the impression is given that the people makes the decisions, this deceptive façade conceals the rule of the bourgeoisie, of the privileged classes, and of the might of capital. It is real hypocrisy for the representatives of countries which for centuries have been enslaving entire continents and which even today are not capable of securing for millions of their citizens at least the most fundamental right—the possibility to work and live decently—to present themselves today as fighters for democracy and human rights.

Comrades!

During the past forty years we have concentrated our main efforts on the development of the national economy. We have done so in the knowledge that it is primarily this field is of prime importance in meeting the growing needs of people and in the successful development of socialism. On the basis of the complete victory of socialist production relations, we have built up a developed economy which provides a reliable base for our socialist system. We have restructured the industrial base of the state and built a number of new industrial centres and modern branches. Although pre-war Czechoslovakia used to rank among the economically relatively developed countries, our industry is today producing in less than one month as much as it did before the war in a whole year. The more than sixfold growth of the national income over its 1937 level has secured us a solid place among the economically developed states.

The main credit for the results achieved goes to the working class, which at all the stages has stood the test as the decisive social force in our society. Its quantitative growth, the marked rise in its educational level and professional qualifications and its great political and organizational maturity, as well as its significant social initiatives, are creating the prerequisites for the continuing growth of its role in the drive for scientific and technical progress, for the intensification of the national economy, and for the continued successful development of society.

The great successes of socialist construction include the resolution to carry out one of the most important but also most complicated tasks—the transition from small-scale agricultural production to large-scale co-operative production. The peasants have seen for themselves, in practice, that the course indicated by the Communists in the spirit of the Leninist co-operative plan has brought great benefit to them, as well as

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the whole of society. We have built up a modern, highly mechanized agriculture, which has achieved a significant growth in output and labour productivity. It is successfully ensuring the nourishment of the people and coping with the task of reaching self-sufficiency in food production. Poverty and toil, to which capitalism condemned small peasants, the landless and the farm labourers, now belong to the past. The deep discrepancies between town and village, inherited from the past, have been eliminated. Today our villages wear a completely new face, living a full, active and contented life which could not even have been dreamt of under capitalism.

Comrades!

Our stable and swift economic growth has created the resources for fulfilling stage by stage the principal purposes of our endeavours—to improve the life of people, to satisfy their growing material and intellectual needs, and to create conditions for all-round development. The revolutionary measures taken by popular power have abolished the class privileges of the bourgeoisie, bridged the social class differences and rectified the great wrongs done by the bourgeoisie to the broad, popular masses. We have devoted great efforts and means to eliminating backward areas suffering from want and to the equitable development of all parts of our country.

We consider the main result of the past forty years to be the striking rise in the living standards of all strata of the people. Socialism has rid them of the burdensome uncertainty and fear for their livelihood. The right to work has become a matter of course. Together with the growth of personal consumption there has been a particularly strong rise also in social consumption, which is an inseparable feature of socialist society. The wide range of social guarantees includes support in pregnancy and for families with children, a developed system of security in old age and sickness, free medical care, and so on. Today, we are allocating some 160,000 million Czechoslovak crowns annually from societal resources for these purposes. This represents roughly one-third of the national income—nine times as much as was spent for these purposes in 1948.

We have begun the large-scale construction and reconstruction of Prague, Bratislava and other towns and entire areas. By building, since the end of the war, more than three million new dwelling units in which over nine million people now live, we have made significant strides in improving the housing conditions of the working people. The extensive modernization of existing housing has contributed to this, especially in

the countryside. One could speak similarly of results in other sectors. Today, all this seems to be a matter of course; yet in drawing up a balance sheet of the past forty years it is necessary to recall these facts.

The endeavour to improve all aspects of the life of the people and to ensure their harmonious development will continue to be in the centre of attention of the Communist Party, the National Front and the socialist state. We shall continue to emphasize the dynamic of the creation of resources and the growth of labour productivity in order to meet increasing needs, to react to new problems and to ensure continuing improvement in the general living and working conditions of the people, including the environment.

The consistent application of the socialist principle of remuneration according to work done is assuming increasing significance. The rise in living standards will have to be consistently linked to the contribution made to society; egalitarianism must be overcome and material motivation in quality and conscientious work must be reinforced.

It will, in my view, not be at variance with the ceremonial nature of today's session if we emphasize the need to substantially tighten control over the harmony between quantity of work and consumption, the need to take more resolute action against all manifestations of parasitism on the accomplishments and humanism of our socialist system, and against everything that is at variance with our socialist principles, whether this concerns unearned income, speculation or similar matters. We are going to do our utmost to ensure that such phenomena find no place in our society.

The building of socialism has always been linked with the struggle for the development of the new man. This has required a constant fight against selfishness and individualism, against the most varied prejudices cultivated in people for centuries by exploiting societies. In the course of the practical building of socialism people are assimilating socialist values, the ideas of socialist patriotism and internationalism. The feeling for the collective and a positive attitude to the needs of the whole of society are being fostered, a socialist mode is being shaped. The intellectual face of our present is being determined by the ideas of socialist humanism and by Marxism-Leninism. We know, however, how difficult the transformation of the human consciousness is, how complicated it is for all working people to understand their new status and new responsibility, how much demanding work there is still ahead of us in this field.

Evidence of the care which socialism is devoting to education and culture is provided by the unprecedented development and democratization of the school system, by the building up of a strong scientific

research base and new, numerous intelligentsia which in all sectors. We see the increasingly c

Comrades!

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research base and by the flowering of socialist culture. We have trained a new, numerous intelligentsia which has emerged from the people, an intelligentsia which is contributing significantly to the results achieved in all sectors. We shall ensure that its role and responsibility in resolving the increasingly challenging tasks also continue to increase.

Comrades!

In the course of the struggle for national liberation both our nations unequivocally expressed their firm conviction that they belonged forever together; that they saw in a common Czechoslovak state the best form for their statehood. In the resolution of the nationality question it was therefore impossible to return to the conditions of the pre-Munich republic, in which the ruling bourgeoisie had neither the intention nor the ability to settle the relations between our nations justly.

It is to the historical merit of the Communist Party that in the face of the resistance by the bourgeois representatives it successfully insisted that relations in the restored state be founded on respect for the national identity of the Slovak nation, on the principles of equality and genuine brotherhood. The constitutional settlement of their relationship culminated in the introduction of a federative structure which has fully stood the test during the past fifteen years. It is creating the optimum conditions for the all-embracing development of both our nations and simultaneously helping to cement the unity of our state, the unity of the Czechoslovak people.

In the course of our socialist construction, close co-operation has developed between our nations in all spheres of economic, social and cultural life. With the fraternal aid of the Czech working people, a powerful socio-economic advance has taken place in Slovakia, making it possible to iron out the historically-rooted differences between our two national republics. Today, their joint efforts are ensuring the development of a unitary Czechoslovak economy.

Our socialist state also ensures equal rights, with possibilities of employment and social and cultural development, to all members of other nationalities living in this country. They are sharing in the achievements of our people and contributing to the development of our society. We are also placing great emphasis on resolving, with the necessary sensitivity and in the spirit of Czechoslovak patriotism and socialist internationalism, the tasks related to future relations between the nations and nationalities in this country. The firmer their co-

operation will be, the stronger will be our common home—the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Comrades!

In the field of foreign policy the principal outcome of the past four decades is the reliable, international safeguarding of our independence, of our socialist system, and of the peaceful life of our people. Our alliance, friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries have fully proved themselves as a guarantee on which we can always, and in everything, rely.

The socialist community, to which we belong, is an international bond of a new type which, for the first time in history, bases relations between states on the principles of equality, parity, mutual co-operation and aid, and on unity of ideas, interests and aims. Membership of this community has become an irreplaceable support in the resolution of our political, economic and defence tasks. In harmony with the vital interests of our people, and fully aware of our internationalist responsibility, we will continue to do our utmost to contribute to cementing the community's unity and cohesion, and to share in the common struggle for peace and progress.

We consider the Warsaw Treaty to be the linch pin of our alliances. We regard the recent signing in Warsaw of the protocol on the prolongation of its validity as a step of historic significance, safeguarding not only the security and vital interests of our own people and of the socialist states, but also peace in Europe and throughout the world. The top-level talks which we conducted in Warsaw were also in harmony with this.

Current international developments fully demonstrate how important it is for us to have good friends and reliable allies. The reactionary forces of imperialism are carrying on their policy of heightening international tension, attempting to undermine the socialist system and stepping up their material preparations for a military conflagration. Exceptionally dangerous are their intentions to extend their armaments into outer space; these designs are threatening to frustrate the results of the prolonged efforts to limit armaments, and will make the military and political confrontation even more acute.

The socialist countries are threatening no-one; they are not seeking military superiority, they are in favour of a balance of forces at the lowest possible level. The peace overtures of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and the persistent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union are aimed at averting the threat of war, at improving the international

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climate, and at promoting constructive international co-operation in the spirit of the Helsinki accords. The Soviet Union has on numerous past occasions demonstrated—as it is now demonstrating also by its approach to the current talks in Geneva on space and nuclear weapons and to the overall development of its relations with the United States—that it is prepared to resolve honourably, on the basis of equality and equal security, all questions of arms limitation, especially concerning nuclear arms, and of averting the militarization of space. Unfortunately, its efforts are not yet meeting with a corresponding response from the other side.

The Warsaw Treaty member states will step up their vigorous peace endeavours. They cannot, however, tolerate the violation of the existing balance of forces for which the imperialists are striving. That is why, in the interests of peace as well as of our own security, we attach fundamental significance to the joint defence measures in which we are taking an active part, in our own as well as in the common interest.

The world peace movement has a tremendous potential. The nations of all continents wish to live in peace. We are convinced that by the joint efforts of all peace-loving forces, regardless of their political persuasion, we shall succeed in the end in averting the danger of war. Our people will make its utmost contribution to this.

In the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, socialist Czechoslovakia is striving to promote a political dialogue and constructive co-operation with the developed capitalist countries, for the better utilization of existing possibilities for the development of mutual relations. There must, naturally, be good will on the other side as well.

We are in complete solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the imperialist policy of pressure and interference. We have in recent days held talks in this spirit with a Nicaraguan delegation visiting this country. We trust that these nations will prevail in their just fight.

Comrades!

When drawing up the balance sheet of the past forty years we can rightly underline the historical successes of socialist construction. They provide unequivocal evidence of the right, necessary and just course chosen by the Czechoslovak people.

Yet we do not overlook the difficulties and errors, nor the fact that certain distortions have taken place. It has been necessary to counter the imperialists' attempts to interfere in our internal affairs. The working

people have had to learn as they went along to administer the state and run the economy. The Communist Party has also had to learn from its own experiences, phase by phase to cope with some of the simplistic notions about the building of socialism and with attempts at over-rapid development which have manifested themselves at several stages. It succeeded, however, in overcoming all obstacles, rectifying its mistakes and finding strength for renewed advance.

Particularly serious consequences followed from subjectivism and voluntarism, from the retreat from Marxist-Leninist principles and class positions, which provided the breeding ground for the growth of the extreme crisis in the second half of the sixties. The internationalist aid of the fraternal countries gave the Marxist-Leninist forces a firm base for waging the struggle to defeat the anti-socialist and rightist forces. The experiences gained in this struggle were summed up by the CPCz Central Committee in the document entitled "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia", which was adopted fifteen years ago.

The principled course of action taken by the new Party leadership, which was winning increasingly wide support among the masses, made it possible, after April 1969, to overcome the crisis politically and to embark on a new stage of development. The programme of building an advanced socialist society, which was worked out by the 14th Congress and expanded by the 15th and 16th Congresses, proceeded from the long-term character of this stage. It provided a truthful and clear answer to the needs of society and guaranteed our people its certainty of life and work. That is why it was adopted by the entire National Front. Our whole people united in its fulfilment. Consequently significant progress has been made in all spheres since the 14th CPCz Congress. This includes the difficult, phased adaptation of our economy to rapidly growing demands, the restoration of the dynamic of its development, especially in the most recent years, the strengthening of the external and internal balance, the rise in living standards and the strengthening of the people's social guarantees. We can rightly say that despite all the problems with which we have to grapple, the results form a fitting part of the balance sheet of the past forty years.

Comrades!

The best expression of the fundamental attitude of our people to the legacy of the national liberation struggle and the forty years of construction are the thousands of valuable socialist pledges undertaken in honour

of the 40th anniversary of the organizations, to press our sincere contribution to the fulfilment of the tasks of the Plan.

The 40th anniversary of pride in the achievements and shortcomings of the past, tomorrow, but

We will press on. The 17th CPCz Congress shall evaluate the goals of the next five-year plan, the year 2000, the knowledge and experience of our people. We are preparing, in all spheres at the moment.

In our preparations for building an advanced socialist society, every continuing positive result of our policy by fresh ways and means, more resolutely.

In all this, we are about by the world. We are in place in international economy, as on the condition of more exacting effectiveness and educational advantages material and

of the 40th anniversary by enterprises, National Committees and other organizations, by workers' collectives and individual workers. We express our sincere gratitude for the concrete deeds with which our people is manifesting its dedication to socialism and its support for the policy of the Communist Party and National Front, making a significant contribution to the fulfilment of the goals set by the 16th CPCz Congress and of the tasks of this year's plan, as well as of the entire Seventh Five-year Plan.

The 40th anniversary celebrations are taking place in an atmosphere of pride in the results achieved as well as of critical appraisal of the shortcomings; in an atmosphere of awareness of the challenging tasks of tomorrow, but also of optimism and confidence in the future.

We will promote this creative atmosphere also in the run-up to the 17th CPCz Congress, which will be held next year. At that congress we shall evaluate the results achieved since the 16th Congress and outline the goals of the continued building of our advanced socialist society over the next five-year period, taking into consideration the perspectives up to the year 2000. In our congress preparations we shall base ourselves on the knowledge and experience of Communists, the National Front and all our people. We shall discuss the overall direction of the pre-congress preparations, the concrete course of action and the tasks in individual spheres at the CPCz Central Committee session which will be held next month.

In our preparations, we shall proceed from the long-term strategy of building an advanced socialist society, which exemplifies the revolutionary continuing of our struggle. We shall consolidate and develop all positive results and values which we have attained, further enrich our policy by fresh impulses for socio-economic development, press for new ways and more effective means of implementing our aims, and overcome more resolutely all manifestations of time-serving and inertia.

In all this we must bear in mind the revolutionary changes brought about by the rapid pace of scientific and technological progress in the world. We are taking into consideration the profound changes taking place in international relations and in the developments of the world economy, as well as other factors. All of this has a permanent influence on the conditions of our own future development; it requires us to apply more exacting yardsticks, to effect a dramatic use in the level and effectiveness of all managerial, politically-organizational, ideological and educational work. The crux of the matter is to make better use of the advantages and possibilities of our socialist system, of the extensive material and intellectual potential which we have amassed. On such a

basis it is fully realistic to demand strikingly better results. The future successful development of our socialist society depends on this.

The revolutionary nature of the present era lies in our realization everywhere of the urgency of these demands, of the need to speed up the socio-economic development of our society and to set about the tasks which we intend to resolve during the pre-congress preparations in this very spirit. The firm basis from which we will always proceed in everything we do is provided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, the strengthening and development of our socialist system.

We shall concentrate our forces and energy on the even more consistent implementation of our policy of increasing efficiency and speeding up the switching of the national economy to a course of intensive development. In doing so we attach key significance to the more resolute assertion of scientific and technological progress, to the restructuring, reconstruction and modernization of the national economy, and to the consistent implementation of the objectives adopted. We link the solution of all these tasks with the deepening of our participation in international socialist integration within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

In preparing the Eighth Five-year Plan we shall strive for a more marked growth of productivity and for a substantial raising of the quality of all work. A question of fundamental significance for us is that of more determined progress in perfecting our system of management and planning, which dictate the functioning of the entire economic mechanism. All these are the prerequisite for the required growth of the national income and for satisfying the growth material and spiritual needs of people.

Proceeding from the unity between socio-economic development and the perfecting of social, primarily production relations, we shall strive for the continuing development of our political system. In doing so we shall turn our main attention to the activities of National Committees, to the activation of the social organizations of the National Front, and to the increasing role of workers' collectives. In the forefront of our attention will be the perfecting of the entire system of ideational-educational impact, the consolidation of our socialist values in the life of society.

We shall create the necessary conditions for the more effective application of the inexhaustible energy and strength, knowledge and experience of our people, its interest and consciousness in resolving the tasks of social development, in turning our possibilities and perspectives into reality.

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able to rely on the experience of the fraternal countries which are tackling similar problems. We are therefore devoting great attention to studying their experiences, and especially to the ideas which the CPSU is putting forward during the preparations for its 27th Congress, as they were expressed at the April Session of its Central Committee in the speech made by its General Secretary, Comrade Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Comrades!

We base our certainty of the success of the further progress of the great endeavour commenced forty years ago on the firm foundation we have already created, on the unity and determination of our people to continue on our socialist course. We base it on the ideological and political maturity, the revolutionary experience of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; on its unshakeable fidelity to the victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism; and on its ability to apply them creatively.

The revolutionary achievement of the past forty years is indivisibly linked to the struggle and work of our Party. Its leading role grew out of the fact that for entire decades it had been selflessly fighting for the interests of the working people, that it had proved capable of working out a programme of socialist construction and of guiding the working class and working people in its implementation.

The Party has honourably fulfilled and is fulfilling its historical responsibility towards the Czechoslovak people. It has no other interest and goal other than to serve these interests, to serve the prosperity of our homeland. During the struggle against exploitation, in the fight for national freedom and popular power, and during the building of socialism, the Communists have demonstrated exemplary enthusiasm and unstinted selflessness.

Out of this has grown and is constantly gaining in strength the workers' trust and support, extended by the people to our Party. We appreciate this trust and support immensely. We will do our utmost to retain it also in future and to maintain the Party's close links with the people. Its firm basis is the realistic, honest and open policy which we intend also to continue consistently in future.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, together with the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries, our people will continue on its course of building an advanced socialist society.

Honour and glory to the fighters of the national liberation struggle, to our working people!

Honour and glory to the courageous Soviet people and to its heroic Liberating Army.

Long live and flourish our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries!

May our homeland—the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—flourish!

Long live peace throughout the world!

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

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Report on
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26 May

Esteemed Comrades
Dear guests!

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2.

Report on the activities of the Party and the development of society since the 13th Congress of the CPCz, and on other Party tasks, delivered at the 14th Party Congress 26 May 1971

Excerpts

Esteemed Comrades and Delegates!
Dear guests!

The Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz), its supreme body, has met to assess developments in the five years which have elapsed since the 13th Party Congress and to define further procedure for our work.

These past years have been among the most difficult and most complicated in the fifty-year history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Our Party and society have been through a profound crisis, which affected every sphere. It disrupted the Party, the social organizations, and State and economic bodies, bringing the economy and the social convictions of the working people into a chaotic state, and our external political relations were endangered. The revolutionary achievements of the people, the fruits of socialist construction, were seriously threatened and, in the last instance, the very existence of the socialist system in our country was imperilled.

These were years of hard trial for our Party and for our socialist society. Today we can honestly declare that the advance of the counter-revolutionary forces has been repelled and the socialist system successfully defended. After April 1969 the Central Committee started on a firm course to overcome the crises in the Party and society. The condition for surmounting these dangerous crises was the defeat of

rightist opportunist, revisionist and anti-socialist forces; the cleansing of the Party and of social and State bodies; and the restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles in the policy of the Party and in the activities of the State.

After two years of determined and exhausting political, organizational work on the part of hundreds of thousands of communists we can justifiably state that the Party is ideologically, politically and organizationally united, and capable of action. Our society has been consolidated, and the economy has again achieved stability, and is acquiring a dynamic rate of development. The social and legal security of the people is assured. By its political course and concrete results the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is winning the continually increasing confidence and support of the working class and other strata of workers. It has again become the leading force in our socialist society and a firm link in the international communist movement.

We have fully restored the friendly ties and bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries.

The restoration of normal conditions for the creative work and life of the working people—the overall results of consolidation in the Party, in the social organizations, in State and representative bodies, in the economic and social spheres and in our foreign relations—has made it possible for a regular Party Congress to be convened.

During the pre-Congress campaign all the basic organizations, district and regional conferences and the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia expressed full agreement with the political course of our Central Committee and the practical activity of its bodies. The recent demonstrations on the occasion of 1 May, which were held in almost 1000 communities in our Republic and attended by several million people, showed the high degree of our Party's unity with the broad masses, and the support of the workers, farmers and intelligentsia for the policy of the Central Committee. The preparation of the Party Congress proceeded in accordance with the Statutes. It was accompanied by widespread working initiative in plants and other places of work to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its 14th Congress...

The Crisis and Its Causes

Comrades!

The period since the 13th Congress of our Party, which we are assessing today, has been marked by profound political crisis and, during the last

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two years, an intensive striving to overcome it. The reasons for the crisis in the political, economic and ideological spheres have been dealt with by the Central Committee many times. At its December sessions in 1970 it summarized the conclusions in the document "Lessons from the Crisis in the Party and Society since the 13th Congress of the CPCz". Our Party and the public know this document well and agree with it.

The successes that we have achieved in the construction of a socialist society, in building up the material-technical base, are as indisputable as are those in the development of the political system of socialism and in the moulding of the socialist consciousness of our people.

The growing tasks of an advanced industrial country, however, have placed increasing demands upon the Party, in its acquisition of knowledge and its leading and organizing activities, and, primarily, upon its leading bodies, upon political-educational and ideological work, upon the developing of all the functions of the socialist State and social organizations, and upon the development of socialist democracy.

Due respect was not paid, however, to the Leninist idea and experience, proved in practice, that the upsurge of constructive activity brings with it increasingly complicated problems and thus increases the role and demands on, as well as the responsibility of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working people, and primarily of its leading bodies. From the beginning of the 1960s there were initial signs in the leadership of our Party of intoxication within the successes achieved, which became one of the causes of growing subjectivism and voluntarism in the definition of political and economic targets and during their practical realization.

The leadership of the Party incorrectly evaluated the stage of development reached in society and idealized the level of its moral, political unity. The wish was presented as reality, and from this grew the subjectivist endeavour to outrun developments. In view of the lack of a more profound analysis of the structure of classes and social groups in our society, the contemporary stage of development was superficially assessed and unrealistic terms for the conclusion of socialist construction were announced. In 1960 Novotný declared that "in our country all fundamental tasks in the transition from capitalism to socialism have been settled". During the 'fifties important successes in socialist construction were really achieved. Socialist production relations were victorious—true, especially from the point of view of forms of ownership. This, however, is not the same as fulfilment of all basic tasks in the transition to socialism, as was interpreted by A. Novotný. In addition, in

this context no analysis or specification was made of the other tasks of the class struggle that exist in a very young socialist society, or of the production, social and ideological conditions of the all-round incorporation of the former petty-bourgeois strata into the system of socialist mass-production. Marx, Engels and Lenin always stressed the all-round nature of the class struggle from which it is impossible without repercussion to leave out either the economic, political or ideological sides of the matter. Above all, the moulding of socialist man—the great battle for his socialist consciousness, the battle against inertia, against class alien tendencies, and, under our conditions, against the effect of a strong bourgeois stratum and various social democratic traditions and influences—was not backed up by an effective programme. The international aspects of our development, determined by the clearly defined class antagonism of the contemporary world, substantially strengthened the urgency of the political-ideological struggle. A strong enough fight was not waged against growing rightist opportunism in the Party, which was a reflection of the influence of the domestic petty-bourgeois strata and of international influences.

The Party leadership did not even draw any conclusions or lessons from the Hungarian counter-revolution and did not arm the Party against the methods of ideological diversion, which the imperialists had begun to use as the major weapon against the socialist countries. This was connected with the endeavour on the part of Novotný's leadership to ignore or postpone the rectification of the mistakes and errors made in the 1950s, for which he bore direct political responsibility. From unwillingness to judge the actual situation on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis, all sorts of improvisations inevitably arose, both in the economy and in the political and ideological spheres; from this ensued the disorientation of the Party. The increasing contradiction between words and deeds was markedly evident in unreal conceptions in the economic field, the consequence of which was the failure of the Third Five-year Plan and the stagnation of our economy.

At the time that Czechoslovakia became the object of the concentrated attack of political and ideological subversion from anti-communist centres in the West, which concentrated on disparaging the principles and values of socialism and on inciting nationalist and anti-Soviet moods and petty-bourgeois prejudices. The unprincipled policy of the Party leadership enabled people, including even those who did not stand on the positions of socialism, to occupy key positions in culture, the social sciences and the mass media, as well as in mass organizations and in State and Party bodies. At the same time, the mistaken methods of the

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The entire d society, leading t number of Party which are incor already evident The results of a plenum of the Party organizat solving urgent growing denigr dissemination o mandated that th the 13th Congr was absolutely shortcomings a decisions, in or measures inclu First Secretary session in Janu Party Congres the activity of its ideological need to streng

Party leadership discouraged many upright and honest communists from a committed fight in this sphere.

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia drew critical attention to certain unhealthy trends in our domestic-political life, and, in its conclusions, stressed the necessity of overcoming them. The decisions and resolutions of the 13th Congress pointed quite correctly to a wide range of problems which it was necessary to solve. However, the carrying out of the tasks laid down by the 13th Congress did not correspond to the real needs and did not take into account the critical voices heard in the pre-Congress discussion. Moreover, the unprincipled attitude towards grave problems was often complicated by the Party leadership, by certain administrative measures and by an unsensitive attitude to the nationalities' question, particularly in regard to relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks. Because of Novotný's views, the long-term perspective of rapprochement between socialist nations was distorted to one of bureaucratic centralism, which inevitably resulted in deforming the equal relations between our nations.

The entire development provoked tension within the Party and society, leading to formalism in internal Party life, the passivity of a great number of Party members and the toleration inside the Party of views which are incompatible with socialism. By the middle of 1967, it was already evident that a grave crisis had matured in the party and society. The results of a broad, internal Party inquiry, held before the October plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCz in 1967, showed that Party organizations were justly criticizing the Party leadership for not solving urgent social and economic problems and for permitting a growing denigration of the work of the Party and its history, and dissemination of negativism and petty-bourgeois attitudes. They demanded that the Central Committee solve these problems in the spirit of the 13th Congress. The situation in our Party reached a stage at which it was absolutely essential that resolute measures be taken against the shortcomings and errors occurring in the implementation of Congress decisions, in order to improve the situation in the Party leadership; these measures included Antonín Novotný's departure from the function of First Secretary. This task was solved by the Central Committee at its session in January 1968. Proceeding from the line laid down by the 13th Party Congress, the Central Committee stressed the necessity to bring the activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia more in line with its ideological positions and to confirm its leading position in society; the need to strengthen the ties between the Czechs and the Slovaks by

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consistently implementing Leninist principles in the policy related to nationalities; and the need also to solve the pressing problems of the national economy and other tasks. It stressed the obligations of the CSSR towards the world socialist system and the need for firm unity with the Soviet Union. The results of the January plenum were essentially an expression of the effort to solve the crisis which had arisen within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and, by increased activity, to remove from the life of the Party and its leadership all that prevented the Party from ensuring the further development of society. The conclusions of the January plenum and its resolution were received positively by the majority of the Party and our people.

Experience has taught us that it was a grave shortcoming of the January 1968 session of the Central Committee of the CPCz that it did not accurately determine the class framework of further political procedure, nor did it direct the Party towards simultaneously developing a militant political and ideological struggle against growing rightist opportunism and anti-socialist tendencies. This task was all the more pressing in that rightist forces had been active in this country even before January 1968 and they were relying upon a large, influential group within the Central Committee of the CPCz, which was revisionist orientated and had organized itself essentially as a fraction. At its January session, the Central Committee did not see this division of forces nor the possible danger, and did not, particularly the new First Secretary of the Central Committee, guarantee firm Marxist-Leninist Party leadership in this complicated situation.

On the contrary, under the protection and with the direct participation of certain rightist-orientated members of the Central Committee of the CPCz the rightist forces used their strong positions in the communication media to disorientate the Party and the working people, who considered the conclusions of the January plenum as the basis for a new upsurge of creative initiative and activity. Thus, petty-bourgeois notions about socialism were spread through all channels of State communication media and by other means, and self-criticism within the Party was abused by denigrating its entire history and the whole period of socialist construction. Illusions were created about the capitalist West and about the pre-Munich bourgeois Republic. In particular, nationalism and anti-Sovietism were incited, which was in keeping with the long-term anti-communist designs of the imperialist forces that were striving to disrupt the socialist system in Czechoslovakia.

The development of events in Czechoslovakia, being at variance with the interests and the expectations of the majority of the communists and

of our people, instead of the individual and society, actual dimensions. The culmination of the process was generalized in the plenum of the CIO agreement with its binding directive

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One of the defects of the gradual process was the increasingly betwixt and between position of the bourgeoisie, and who were democratic centralists. The leadership of the party in recent years, the lack of any vigilance and discipline, a growth of petty bourgeois exigencies of the party, replaced by mere expediency, were gradually replaced by anti-socialist propaganda. The consequence of the lack of Central Committee Secretariat, ceased the construction of the party, achievements of the party, and the body, unable to carry out the activity of the party, the lackeys.

At the May

of our people, instead of removing the sources of the crisis from the Party and society, actually deepened and broadened them to unmanageable dimensions. The causes, consequences, as well as the entire catastrophic culmination of the post-January development, has been clarified and generalized in the "Lesson", the document passed by the December 1970 plenum of the CPCz. The whole Party knows this and has expressed agreement with it, and our Congress, too, will certainly confirm it as a binding directive for Party work.

Comrades!

If we recall the basic causes of recent developments in Czechoslovakia, which in 1968 led to a counter-revolutionary threat to our entire system, we do so because it is often asked how this development could have come about when the working class had been in power in this country for quite a long period, when the Communist Party was the leading force, and when the overwhelming majority of working people upheld the positions of socialism.

One of the determining causes of this catastrophic development was the gradual penetration of the leading Party bodies by people who increasingly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and who violated the norms of Party life and the principles of democratic centralism. And these people were gradually taking over the leadership of the Party. Within the Communist Party, particularly in recent years, the class aspect of problems had been blunted, revolutionary vigilance and ideological principledness had declined, and there was a growth of petty-bourgeois habits, careerism and adaptability to the exigencies of the moment. Communist modesty was in many instances replaced by megalomania and fame-seeking. These negative tendencies were gradually penetrating all spheres of our social life. Rightist and anti-socialist propaganda was carried along on these waves. As a consequence of the advance and the activity of the right-wing forces, the Central Committee of the CPCz, and especially its Presidium and Secretariat, ceased to fulfil the task of being a decisive centre in the construction of socialism and in the protection of the revolutionary achievements of the people. Although it comprised a majority of experienced and dedicated Party members, the Central Committee, was, as a body, unable to expose and thwart the anti-Party and anti-popular activity of the conscious enemies and renegades, and of various careerist lackeys.

At the May session in 1968, the Marxist-Leninist forces did indeed get

a resolution through which urgently drew attention to the dangerous activity of the anti-socialist forces; however, they stopped mid-way. They did not start an open fight against right-wing opportunism in the Party. Today, we know that in such a critical period it was essential to get rid of people who were not taking up Marxist-Leninist positions. In the effort to maintain formal unity in the Central Committee at all costs, there was retreat from communist positions and room was left open for the activities of the rightist and anti-socialist forces. The Central Committee even allowed itself to be excluded from political life, which was dominated by uncontrolled petty-bourgeois activity and anti-socialist tendencies. At variance with the Party Statutes, a right-wing revisionist centre formed, whose activities made possible the advance of the counter-revolutionary forces striving for a reversal of political power in Czechoslovakia. At the July session in 1968 the Central Committee submitted to the political and moral pressure from without and to the pressure of the rightist-opportunist forces within its own body and identified itself with the incorrect standpoint of the Presidium to the letter from the fraternal parties of the five socialist countries.

All the main components of our socialist political system—the activities of the Presidium of the Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Government, the organs of power of the State and the National Front—Alexander Dubček, Oldřich Černík, Josef Smrkovský, František Kriegel and others, who concentrated in their own hands decision-making on affairs of Party and State. The decisive elements of executive power and legislative power ceased to fulfil their class mission, because the key positions in them were held by rightist-opportunists. This fostered intensified activity on the part of the counter-revolutionary underground and subversion by enemies from without.

There was a similar situation in the economic sphere. The Party leadership ceased to direct the development of the national economy and permitted the initiative to be taken by various rightist adventurers, such as Šik who, against the vital interests of the working people, opened the way to uncontrolled petty-bourgeois activity, the reversion from society-wide ownership to group ownership, the elimination of planned management of the national economy, and the unrestrained operation of market forces, thus making it impossible for the Party and the State to influence the management and development of the national economy. In its consequences, this road would have led to the liquidation of socialist production relations.

One of the reasons why we reaped such results in 1968 was that Marxist-Leninist and internationalist education had for many years

been neglected. The Party was ideologically weak, its propaganda, the press, the organized and disorganized forces of the Party and enemy forces. The socialist efforts in the field of culture was in accord with the anti-communist efforts for disrupting the work of the Party. The mass media and manipulation of the Party and anti-socialist forces in the press, radio and television. Leninism and the socialist phrases.

The rupture of the socialist allies was the mercy of the socialist protectors.

Following the methods of their methods. in the minds and concentrate power about the disintegration of their real "improving" socialist Marxism-Leninism model of "consolidation" the restoration of power for all the century petty-bourgeois that various states ardently "reform" enemies in the West.

Alexander Dubček by pushing the socialism". The people, deriving from retreated before the road to it.

been neglected in the Party and society. To a considerable extent, the Party was ideologically disarmed. Under the pressure of right-wing propaganda, the masses of the working people were unable to face the organized and coordinated pressure of internal and external revisionist and enemy forces. The common denominator of the revisionist and anti-socialist efforts in this country was nationalism and anti-Sovietism. This was in accord with the strategic and tactical intentions of the western anti-communist centres, which saw in them the most effective weapon for disrupting ties between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union. The mass media became an instrument of consistent misinformation and manipulation of public opinion. This led to the creation of anti-Party and anti-socialist mass psychosis. Through its subversive activity the press, radio, television and cinema distorted the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and revived bourgeois ideology, masking it with pseudo-socialist phraseology.

The rupture of fraternal bonds with the Soviet Union and the other socialist allies was to have rid our State of its main defence and put it at the mercy of the internal counter-revolutionary forces and their imperialist protectors.

Following the Hungarian events in 1956, the imperialists changed their methods. Nowadays, when the ideas of socialism are firmly rooted in the minds and hearts of the broadest strata of the working people, they concentrate primarily upon ideological subversion. In order to bring about the disintegration of the Party and socialist society, while concealing their real aims, they fight under pseudo-socialist slogans about "improving" socialism. Instead of socialism built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they attempt to push through a petty-bourgeois model of "consumer" socialism which would in fact be a bridge towards the restoration of capitalism. They orientate themselves towards support for all the centrifugal nationalist and revisionist currents, for which the petty-bourgeois element provides a strong foundation. It is only logical that various stars and starlets of the so-called Prague Spring, who were so ardently "reforming" socialism in this country, are today acting as open enemies in the propaganda centres and press organs of imperialism in the West.

Alexander Dubček and his followers harmed the Party and the people by pushing through the revisionist concept of so-called "democratic socialism". They grossly violated their duties towards the Party and the people, deriving from the high functions they held, they continuously retreated before the counter-revolutionary onslaught and in fact opened the road to it, they grossly violated the duties stemming from our

obligations of alliance, repudiated the line laid down by the 13th Congress and even got as far as acts of liquidation, which culminated in the inimical platform of the famous anti-Party Vysočany gathering. There, in the name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, an attempt was made to set up a counter-revolutionary staff which was to tear up the bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and our socialist allies and gradually liquidate the achievements of socialism in our country.

The Czechoslovak events of 1968 again confirmed the truth of Lenin's thesis that even the most numerous revolutionary force, if it lacks a principled and firm leadership which stands unreservedly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, becomes a scattered mass incapable of organized action, which, under certain conditions, and under the pressure of counter-revolutionary forces, can suffer defeat.

An objective analysis of developments during this period shows that had it not been for the timely internationalist assistance of our closest socialist allies, the working class and the working people in our country would have suffered a defeat which would have had far-reaching consequences not only for our people but also for peace in Europe, endangering the position of socialism and harming the entire international revolutionary movement.

From the platform of our Congress we again want to confirm the evaluation of 21 August 1968, unanimously approved by the Central Committee in December 1970 and supported by the whole Party: "The entry of the allied troops of the five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia was an act of international solidarity, which corresponded both with the common interests of the Czechoslovak working people and with those of the international working class and the socialist community, and also with the class interests of the world communist movement. By this internationalist action the lives of thousands of people were saved and internal and external conditions for calm and peaceful work were secured; the western frontier of the socialist camp was strengthened, and the hopes of the imperialist circles for a revision of the results of World War Two were thwarted".....

The right-wing majority in the Party leadership, which consummated its open betrayal of Marxist-Leninist policy with the well-known proclamation of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCz of 21 August 1968 attempted to disguise the truth about the international assistance of the allies. This treacherous act caused serious damage to our country and to the interests of the international communist movement. Mainly due to this proclamation and its dissemination by all the

communications and unbelievable misinformation which, under the pressure of honest citizens subjected to the dictation to all their convictions.

The entry of the forces, which were Czechoslovakia a widespread mob overcome the the signing of the Provisions, 23-26 August sound forces, and confidence and our society as a

From August Party and in socially they came to side those who, unable to find place, for all the disruptive international revolutionary force leadership confronted the Party thwarted the Party struggle in the hundreds of thousands of forces in our country April 1969 the changes in the overcome the and very exact and the working and crisis exist relations.

The Struggle

Leading the struggle with

communications media, at that complicated moment an atmosphere of unbelievable misinformation and chauvinist hysteria was created, to which, under the pressure of mass psychosis, even many communists and honest citizens succumbed, committing acts which were often in contradiction to all their previous work for socialism, as well as to their own convictions.

The entry of the allied troops multiplied the power of the internal forces, which were determined to defend the achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia and to create a firm hinterland for the development of widespread mobilization of the working people for the struggle to overcome the threat of counter-revolution by political means. The signing of the Protocol between the Soviet and Czechoslovak representatives, 23-26 August 1968, in Moscow, strengthened the assurance of the sound forces, and became a mighty lever for raising the political self-confidence and capability for action of the Party, the working class, and our society as a whole.

From August 1968 to April 1969, the Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party and in society waged a difficult and complicated struggle. Gradually they came to know each other, unified and began to win over to their side those who, in the complex situation at the beginning, had been unable to find their bearings. In this sense, it was essential, in the first place, for all honest people to understand as quickly as possible the disruptive intentions of the right-wing, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces. Alexander Dubček and his followers in the Party leadership continued to pursue a two-faced policy and basically thwarted the Party's efforts to overcome the crisis. After months of hard struggle in the Party and society, and thanks to the selfless efforts of hundreds of thousands of honest communists, the Marxist-Leninist forces in our Party consolidated themselves to such an extent that in April 1969 the Central Committee was able to decide to make basic changes in the leadership of the Party and to start a resolute struggle to overcome the profound crisis in the Party and society. An unavoidable and very exacting task lay before us: to lead the Party, the working class, and the working people, our nations and the State, out of the disruption and crisis existing in all spheres, both within the State and in our foreign relations.

The Struggle to Overcome the Crisis

Leading the Party and society out of the crisis required a resolute struggle with the right-wing, revisionist and anti-socialist forces, so as to

(b) To restore the Communist Party's leading role in society, particularly in social organizations and the member organizations of the National Front, in state bodies, and in the economic and cultural sphere.

(d) To start immediately on the implementation of effective measures for solving the serious economic problems in our State.

The basic element in our struggle against the revisionist and disruptive forces has consisted of efforts to restore the Marxist-Leninist character of our Party. Starting from the Central Committee and its organs right down to the primary Party organizations, it was necessary to carry out important personnel changes, to relieve of their duties and gradually get rid of all those who had betrayed the Marxist-Leninist principles of our Party, taken up hostile positions and, in the crisis-ridden years seriously damaged the interests of the Party. In the course of the exchange of Party cards, more than one-fifth of the Party members were not given new ones. Our Congress greatly appreciates the work of the thousands of interview commission members. We shall not allow these Party interviews to be deprecated in any respect. On the basis of this differentiation and cleansing of the Party, it became possible to rally a militant Party *aktiv* around the policy of the Central Committee, to organize the work of hundreds of thousands of honest Party members, to wage the struggle for ideological and organizational unity within the

We can proceed with the process of restoring its leadership. The crisis, has been a result of its historic mission of organizing the working class and other sectors of society. It is set by our 14th

The cleansing of our Party through the struggle against the 1969 were firm organizations of the mass communist arts, etc., it was concerning people opportunists and the multi-million Union Movement.

Party, to restore its militancy, and its implacable antagonism towards revisionist and hostile influences and currents and its responsibility for solving the vitally important problems of the working class and the working people. In this consistent struggle the right-wing and revisionist forces were defeated and driven out of the Party. At the same time, a resolute blow was dealt to the anti-socialist and disruptive forces in our society. We know that this struggle must continue in order to overcome the causes and consequences of opportunism and revisionism. In the field of the political and ideological education of the working masses we are still faced with tremendous tasks. The results of the great and selfless work of hundreds of thousands of communists, led and guided by the Central Committee, has gradually come to be reflected as a change in the overall atmosphere within our Party, in the growing militancy and determination of communists, and finally in the strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity of the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles. This has also been confirmed by the course of the annual membership meetings, and the district and regional conferences and the Congress of the CP of Slovakia, which preceded our Congress.

We can proclaim to the Congress that the task of cleansing the Party, of restoring its Marxist-Leninist character, and overcoming the internal crisis, has been fulfilled. Our Party is again fully capable of carrying out its historic mission as the leading force of socialist society, and of organizing the forces of the working class, the farmers, the intelligentsia and other sections of society for the fulfilment of the tasks which will be set by our 14th Congress.

From this platform I should also like to thank the great army of comrades who remained true to the teaching of our Party under hard, crisis-ridden conditions, and who by their selfless work contributed to the achievement of these great, positive results.

The cleansing, differentiating and unifying process was organized by our Party throughout all spheres of the social and State system. In the struggle against the opportunist and disruptive forces, which until April 1969 were firmly entrenched in all the social organizations and member organizations of the National Front, and the State and economic bodies, the mass communication media and in the spheres of science, culture, arts, etc., it was necessary to fight hard and to take considerable measures concerning personnel. The destructive activities of the right-wing opportunists and downright anti-socialist forces were fully apparent in the multi-million-strong organization of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. From leading trade union bodies down to the basic

units at places of work, this organization was for the most part misused for various pressure campaigns against the basic principles of the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist State, and this ran counter to the most vital interests of the working class and the working people. In a complicated struggle over the course of two years, progress has been achieved in this important sector also, through hard and selfless work on the part of communists and other working people devoted to socialism.

Very serious were the consequences of the disruptive activity of the revisionist and anti-socialist forces among our youth and in its organizations. They took over the leadership, broke up the united youth organization and then placed most of the newly created organizations at the service of an anti-Party and anti-socialist policy. It required tremendous political work on the part of communists and other working people to overcome such destructive activity among youth. A new, united youth organization—the Socialist Union of Youth—has now been in existence for more than a year and, as an important assistant of the Party, is gathering strength and increasing its influence among the younger generation.

And in every sphere we could analyze in this way the process of overcoming the crisis, and the disruptive phenomena, as well as the positive results which have become apparent in the course of the two years of the restoration of the socialist social system in the member organizations of the National Front, among working people and in the process of reviving the leading role of our Party.

In opposition to the revisionist and liberal concepts of the non-class approach to the function of the socialist State and its representative bodies, it was necessary to revive and assert the class concept of our State as the organ of power of the working class and the working people, and the function of socialist democracy as a democracy for the working class and the working people. Even here, political struggle, a differentiation process and many personnel changes were necessary. It can be said that today the bodies of State power, the federal and the national governments, the representative bodies and the entire system of national committees are essentially fulfilling their role, even though we know that here, as in other sectors, this process of perfecting the work is not and cannot be complete.

The political struggle is interwoven with the solving of the concrete tasks of the consolidation of the national economy. The disruption of the national economy was profound. The inflationary wave and the conditions prevailing in production and distribution endangered the standard

of living of the working people, the “market” of the Party that the working people of several hundred million. By exception regulation of the placing employment the raising of production and management through overcome the credit to the active assistance economic execution restored. The but, on the stabilized, supported and confidence policy of the many economic prospects of economic

On this occasion working initiative builders, and have made steps towards the creating a socialist active in the devotion to socialist initiated in Austria

The results sphere, the economic millions of our experiences that have led to the cooperative for other working Party.

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of living of the people. As late as in the summer of 1969, the advocates of the "market economy" were submitting proposals to the leadership of the Party that would have stabilized our economy at the expense of the working people by raising retail prices, rents, and foodstuffs, by the sum of several hundred thousand million crowns. We rejected these concepts. By exceptional measures—such as the ban on retail price increases, the regulation of basic wages, price and investment indices, and above all by placing emphasis on the full utilization of reserves in our economy, on the raising of labour productivity, on the introduction of basic order into production and distribution and on the restoration of economic management through a single national economic plan—we endeavoured to overcome the dangerous situation in the national economy. It is a great credit to the Party that with progressive political consolidation and the active assistance of millions of workers, farmers, technicians and economic executives the dynamic life of our economy was successfully restored. The standard of living of the people was not only not reduced, but, on the contrary, is gradually increasing. The currency has been stabilized, supplies for the population have improved, the social stability and confidence of the millions of working people in our system and in the policy of the Party have been strengthened. Today we can start to solve many economic and social problems and discuss, at our Congress, the prospects of economic development in the next five years.

On this occasion, too, we want to express our high appreciation of the working initiative of the miners, metallurgical and engineering workers, builders, and workers in farming, in transport and in other fields, who have made such a great contribution towards overcoming the crisis, towards the achievement of good results in our economy and towards creating a sound basis for its further development. Millions of people active in these extremely important fields have thus expressed their devotion to socialism and their understanding of the efforts of our Party, initiated in April 1969.

The results of the effort at consolidation in the political and social sphere, the economy, distribution and social policy, have convinced millions of our working people through their every-day personal experiences that the course taken by our Party is correct; the results have led to the restoration of the confidence of the working class, the cooperative farmers and the various strata of the intelligentsia and other working people in our socialist system and in the policy of the Party.

To ensure the free development of our nations, the security of our State and the development of a socialist society, it was imperative to

restore to their full extent the bonds of friendship and alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, and with the other fraternal parties and allied states. Through the consistent policy of our Central Committee and the great understanding of the Soviet comrades and those of the other fraternal parties, we succeeded within a short time in completely restoring fraternal and comradely relations, taking up again the old friendship and intensifying it even more in the new situation, thus ranging our Party in the honourable ranks of the international communist and workers' movement, and our State in the family of socialist states. Today, these ideas are deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of our working class, our farmers, the intelligentsia and all our working people.

In carrying out the Implementation Directives, in the over-all struggle for political, economic, ideological and international political consolidation, the leadership of the Party showed the necessary flexibility, with the art of defining strategic aims correctly and choosing effective methods for their achievement. It systematically developed the Party's activity and the people's understanding, ensuring that there would be neither too hasty development, nor delay in solving urgent problems. Consolidation had to proceed in a purposeful and energetic way, and the struggle against the right wing linked with the overcoming of past mistakes and shortcomings and with the solving of the practical tasks of socialist construction. On the basis of their own experience, the broad masses could see that the new Party leadership was bringing them certainty of existence and perspective, as against disruption, anarchy and uncertainty. . . .

The Tasks of the Economic Policy of the Party

In the programme for the further all-round development of socialist society, the Party lays basic stress on a permanent and dynamic development of the economy, satisfying to an increasing degree the material and spiritual requirements of the working people. We know the role which the successful development of the economy plays in the struggle to strengthen socialist power. We know that the success of our policy is assessed by the broad strata of the people mainly according to the realistic conditions we create for their better and richer life. Therefore, the basic content of our work in future must be the task of leading and organizing the creative work of millions of people in socialist construction.

The results of the successful and rapid economic consolidation provide

a starting point not only to overcome the catastrophe but also to achieve the Fourth Five-year Plan.

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a starting point for our future economic policy. Therefore we were able not only to overcome within a short time the threat of economic catastrophe but, in the end, to achieve most of the main targets of the Fourth Five-year Plan.

Thanks to this, Czechoslovakia today belongs among the leading states in the world in its level of *per capita* industrial production. The data at your disposal show its rapid quantitative and qualitative rise in the years of socialism.

At the same time the results achieved would have been even more favourable if the economic development had not been weakened by stagnation at the beginning of the sixties and above all by the consequences of the 1968 crisis. Of decisive importance, however, is the fact that all the necessary conditions exist for further all-round progress. We can therefore conceive with assurance a long-term strategy of economic growth and formulate exacting tasks for the future Five-year Plan.

In laying them down we shall carry on from all the positive results of the past, but we want to cut out past mistakes. This requires a realistic appraisal of the level achieved, the resources and the possibilities of further growth. It is no less important, however, to take into full consideration also the specific qualities of the present stage, which inevitably and ever more powerfully influence the development of our economy and society.

In the first place, right at the beginning of the seventies, new conditions of economic development are being felt with full force. Possibilities of relying for the further growth of production on an extensive development of resources have been practically exhausted. This applies especially to manpower reserves. If we are to meet the further inevitable requirements of the non-production sphere, there we have no alternative but to secure the growth of production in future by basically increasing productivity.

The same applies to power, raw material and material resources. We are overcoming the limitations of our raw material base thanks to the understanding of the Soviet Union. We must reduce the specific consumption of raw materials in our production. Without such a reduction, a further permanent increase in our economy would be very difficult. The situation requires our economy to be orientated unequivocally on a higher evaluation of raw materials, also because excessive pressure for their import considerably restricts possibilities of importing new technology and consumer goods.

Nor is it possible to continue the previous practice in the sphere of

investments, namely, of building new plants and at the same time failing to utilize the existing ones. This would considerably lessen the possibilities in the indispensable modernization and introduction of new technologies and the achievement of a faster development of services.

When speaking about the limitation of the traditional sources of growth, we naturally have in mind their limitation with regard to the present standard of technology, organization, management of production and work. As everybody knows, there are more than enough shortcomings in this respect in all spheres. In individual cases this apparently concerns only trifling things, but taken altogether, throughout the whole of society, they are reserves of exceptional importance. Their utilization may notably raise the general level of the economy.

Thus, on the one hand, a basic feature of the new conditions are the limits in the traditional sources of growth. On the other, there is the increased importance attached to new factors of growth, such as the development of the scientific-technological revolution, the application of modern methods of management and a higher degree of international socialist integration.

The seventies will be marked by a rapidly growing penetration of science and technology into the development of the production forces. Scientific and technological progress will create ever greater pressure for the concentration of production. It will require products of high technical standard and great utility value to be made in big quantities and at low cost. Hence, problems of structural change, a faster transition to higher forms of international integration, the need to raise the scientific level of planned management, and the necessity to master and apply, faster than hitherto, modern methods of management and scientific organization of work, are emerging before us with special urgency. We should be making an inexcusable mistake to believe that these processes can be avoided or dealt with only in words, if in practice we continued in the old rut.

Full utilization of the possibilities of scientific-technological progress is becoming the only possible alternative for the further development of our socialist economy, and a condition of success in competition with capitalism.

The conclusion which follows from the analysis of the conditions of our economy is unambiguous: *the consistent and all-round raising of the effectiveness of the development of the national economy, based on the full application of intensive factors of growth, must become the strategy for its further development, the main content of the Party's economic policy.*

It might seem that these are no new tasks. The urgent need to increase

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effectiveness was stressed by our Party as long ago as the end of the fifties. The inevitability of transition to more intensive development was emphasized by the 12th and the 13th Congresses. Today, the new feature is the degree of urgency. What is new must be the consistency and impetus with which we shall put them into force. We must see that the whole Party and the broad strata of the working people take them up, and that the full strength of the entire society is concentrated on their fulfilment.

The Directives for the Fifth Five-year Plan

The targets and tasks of the economic policy of the Party in the next five years are expressed specifically in the Draft Directives for the Fifth Five-year Plan.

In political terms, the aim of the Draft Directives is to further strengthen the material-technological basis of socialism and to invigorate socialist production relations, increase the importance of the working class in society, develop the large-scale production character of co-operative farming, intensify international socialist integration and strengthen the international position of our State.

Their main purpose, on the basis of permanent development and the increasing effectiveness of social production in keeping with the socialist way of life, is to ensure a greater satisfaction of the requirements and a strengthening of the social certainties of the working people.

Based on the results of consolidation, the Draft orientates our economy towards a further permanent and proportionate economic growth, to be expressed roughly by an annual five per cent growth of the national income. The exacting character of the planned rate does not rest on a one-sided orientation on the growth of quantitative indices, which would involve the risk of undesirable fluctuations, but in the stress laid on the qualitative side of development.

The core of its exacting nature lies in tasks such as growth of labour productivity, reduction of material costs, coping with investments, substantially increasing machinery exports, linking the growth of production with the introduction of new technologies, and the improvement of all financial-economic indices. . . .

Over the past twenty-five years, our socialist society has not only eliminated capitalist exploitation and poverty, but has also achieved a marked rise in material consumption and in the living conditions of the

working people. We can justifiably say: never before in the history of this country has the working man had such security for his life and for his future. In terms of standards of nutrition and clothing we rank among the most advanced countries. The same applies to the equipment of households with durable consumer goods—though, so far, with the exception of private cars. The level of social consumption of the inhabitants of this country is higher than in any capitalist state.

Nearly 1.5 million new flats, with modern facilities, have been built in the post-war period. Altogether one third and, in Slovakia, even half the population are now living in flats built since 1945.

In the past fifteen years, we have reduced weekly working time by six hours and introduced a five-day week. More than one third of the days in a year are not working days, and this applies to all categories of employees, without exception.

All these facts must be considered from a class viewpoint: whereas under capitalism average figures conceal the profound difference between the parasitic consumption of the bourgeoisie and the low standard of the mass of the people, the overall average in this country indicates, under conditions of considerably more even balance, the high level of consumption of the broadest sections of the population.

The results attained are a source of pride to us but also a yardstick of the exacting requirements needed to achieve a raising of the standard of living still further. The present material and cultural standard, together with the growth planned for 1975, pose the question of further ways of increasing the standard of living.

We must take into consideration, first of all, that changes in work, the development of qualifications and education, the elimination of disparities between towns and villages, and changes in living environments will bring about more and more intensive changes in the structure of the people's needs and their way of life.

It must also be taken into account that the rise in living standards has had and will for a long time continue to have an increasingly active influence on the expansion of the productive forces, and that it represents an irreplaceable stimulus for growth in the productivity of labour.

Experience has shown us that mere increase in production and consumption does not automatically lead towards developing a socialist way of life. It is therefore essential that socialist society should direct the trends and proportions of personal and social consumption in a planned way. Its rational satisfaction should be combined with increased emphasis on an improvement in overall living conditions on a strengthening of social certainties, on a raising of cultural level of life as a whole, on a

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growing concern with working and living environments, on the expansion of qualifications and education, and on social awareness and the strengthening of moral stimuli. We do not consider the growth of material consumption to be an end in itself, but a starting-point for the general enrichment of life and the development of people's creative capacities, for developing those elements and aspects which strengthen the socialist way of life in society, within individual people, and in their mutual relations. . . .

It has often been said that under the present conditions, now that science has become a direct force in production, the rate of application of scientific and technological progress is the main prerequisite for the implementation of our plans and the main lever for developing the socialist economy. Although the results we have attained are not small, the new tasks make it imperative that we substantially speed up scientific and technological development.

The most important task at present is to put the achievements of research into practice more resolutely. Changing production programmes, raising the technical and technological level of the production and products and their utility provide a highly effective road to the introduction of new technology. Raising efficiency requires that we manage to invest much more creative scientific and technological thinking and knowledge in production.

It is naturally much easier to stick to established ways of production and to traditional methods. This carries with it less risk and conflict. However, a socialist economy cannot take this road. We must fight today for its technical and economic growth with the same energy with which we fought for its consolidation. A novel approach and efforts to achieve technological development must become the main feature of the Party's influence, exerted by leading executives in the economic sphere.

However, emphasis on the speeding up of technological development should not result in a scattering of forces and resources or in inducing us to stop strictly calculating what will bring adequate economic effect most quickly. In future, resources in enterprises, in whole sectors and branches, and in the entire national economy will have to be concentrated in a more planned and consistent way on the solution of the main tasks, those of modernization, complex mechanization and automation of complete sections and production shops, and the complex introduction of complete sets of new technology, in order to ensure maximum efficiency.

The acceleration of scientific and technological development under socialist conditions must take the form of a uniform State technological policy giving concrete form to the economic strategy of the Party. Even in this respect also, it is true that the assertion of narrow local, enterprise, sector and departmental interests is harmful.

The importance of scientific and technological progress demands that we take its realization as one of the starting points of all managerial and planning activity. It also requires corresponding changes in the conception and role of scientific, research, and designing centres.

It is essential that we link our scientific and research base more effectively with the needs of socio-economic development.

The directives for the Fifth Five-year Plan do represent a certain progress in this respect. However, in proportion to the concentration and specialization of production, it will be necessary to make more marked reductions in the number of research tasks, to concentrate research on selected programmes and to integrate it to a much greater extent with international socialist scientific and technological co-operation.

We realize that in order to speed up scientific and technological progress and to produce self-sacrificing work in the implementation of the exacting tasks of the Fifth Five-year Plan, we must win over all talented, capable scientific workers and technical experts—all our scientific and technical intelligentsia. We consider this to be a demanding and extremely necessary task for all Party organizations.

The acceleration of technological development during the Five-year Plan period is connected with the need to improve the old-fashioned structure of our production, especially industrial production. . . .

In the programme of further socio-economic development in the years to come, an ever more important role will be played by the international socialist division of labour. We regard the economic aspects of this as a major factor facilitating the strengthening of the unity and closer rapprochement of the socialist countries.

The common, long-term programme of economic integration of the countries associated in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, now also being worked out for our own economy, opens up broader possibilities of participating in the development of the world socialist economic system, and of drawing new strength and resources from this link for developing and increasing the efficiency of our economy.

Present-day scientific and technological development depends upon the creation of appropriate conditions, especially on the size of capaci-

ties, on the extent of possibilities. No country can create conditions enabling us to utilize our domestic resources and the international division of labour in an irreplaceable position.

In theory, we are still being made to feel that we produce abundance for other countries, and that we necessarily give rise to high costs and export surpluses, particularly in the case of nations starting line on developing science, keeping with the needs of labour.

Internationalism also from the point of view of the economy and the need for a stable, and the possibility of progress and technological development.

The Socio-political Tasks of the

It falls to our generation to create a socialist development, a realistic assessment of the situation which lies before us, the structure of our economy, the needs of the people, the trends of production, the international division of labour, factors, it must be possible to take into account the laws of development of the relations and the society.

Discussing

ties, on the extent of production, the range of products and the sales possibilities. No small country, and today not even a medium-sized country can create the necessary conditions itself. The only way of enabling us to overcome the limitations of our domestic market and domestic resources in the solution of the new tasks is the development of the international socialist division of labour. That is why it plays an irreplaceable part in the transition towards intensive development.

In theory, we have long acknowledged this to be true, but efforts are still being made to produce everything by ourselves, regardless of cost. We produce about three-quarters of all the machinery we put into use; in other countries, comparable to ours, this share is 25-50 per cent. This necessarily gives rise to a technological and economic lag, to growing costs and export difficulties. The Czechoslovak manufacturing industries, particularly the engineering industry, must without any procrastination start limiting the existing wide range of products and concentrate on developing programmes which it will be possible to promote in keeping with the requirements of the international socialist division of labour.

International socialist integration is of fundamental importance for us also from the point of view of the class and political stability of our economy and its socialist prospects. *The Ninth Soviet Five-year Plan presents a stable, and the same time, dynamic, basis for the Czechoslovak economy, on which it is possible to proceed with assurance in unfolding a programme of further economic and technological development. . . .*

The Socio-political Development of Our Society and the Tasks of the Party

It falls to our Congress to work out the main aims of Czechoslovakia's socialist development in the years ahead. To do this we must make a realistic assessment of the stage in which we now find ourselves and which lies before us, the state and developmental trends of the class structure of society, the degree of socialist awareness of the working people, the standard of economic development, the developmental trends of production in the world in general and the overall balance of international class forces. While soberly appraising all the determining factors, it must be said that we have not yet exhausted the developmental possibilities of the present stage and that we must pay consistent respect to the laws of development of socialist society, strengthen socialist social relations and move towards the development of an advanced socialist society.

Discussing the development of socialist society, Lenin wrote:

"It is clear that for the complete elimination of classes, we must not simply overthrow the exploiters, landlords and capitalists; we must not only abolish their ownership, we must abolish all private ownership of the means of production, thus completely eliminating the differences between town and country, as well as the differences between those who work with their hands and those who work with their brains. And this is a very long process. In order to carry it out, tremendous progress must be made in the expansion of the production forces, we must overcome the resistance (often passive resistance, which is especially steadfast and which it is particularly hard to overcome) of the numerous remnants of small-scale production, and break the tremendous force of habit and inertia typical of these remnants."

It is evident that the construction and development of socialist society in its class, political, ideological and economic contexts is a long process, in which all aspects must be respected. The aim of our Party policy is to bring the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and other social groups closer together, to bridge the differences between town and country, brainwork and manual work. Certain successes and progress in this respect have been achieved in this country during the years of socialist construction. It must be repeated again that it is possible to bring classes and social groups closer together and strengthen the unity of the people only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the objective interests of the working class and the practical implementation of socialist aims.

A strong and advanced working class is and will remain the leading force in the development of our socialist society. In past years, the revisionists tried to cast doubts on this basic thesis of Marxism. The working class is our largest basic social class, accounting for nearly 60 per cent of the population, and the chief producer of our material values. Through its organization and revolutionary experience, as well as its actual class interests, it is the main guarantee of socialist power and of the revolutionary achievements of the people and the basic force which will lead the development of the society of the future, in the interests of all working people. As the party of the working class, our Party will exert all its efforts to strengthen this leading role, so that by enhancing its education, culture, and political and class consciousness the working class will be the main fighter for political, economic and technological development in society, for a socialist way of life.

The fifty-year history of our Party shows that the working class fought against the bourgeoisie and for the socialist transformation of society in alliance with the farmers, this being the political basis of the power of the

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working people in this country. With the increasing successes of co-operative agriculture, a new class of co-operative farmers has come into existence, which is a reliable ally of the working class and a firm pillar of our socialist society. Large-scale agricultural production has substantially changed the work and the position of the farmer, and his material and cultural standard, as compared with widely dispersed small-scale production. Increasing use of technology and machinery in farm production brings work in agriculture closer to work in industry, and the levelling out of social and cultural differences between town and country is proceeding successfully. This process will be intensified, mainly through collaboration between co-operatives and by further supplies of technical and material equipment to agriculture. The recent years of crisis have convinced us that socialist forms of farming have become rooted in the minds of co-operative farmers: our unified agricultural co-operatives remained organizationally firm and consolidated, and their volume of production and the standard of living of the farmers have a rising trend. Life in our villages today is different, happier and more cultured.

The process of socialist construction brings greater cohesion to the working class, farmers and intelligentsia. A high percentage of our new intelligentsia, its overwhelming part, originates from the families of workers and farmers. This process of cohesion is especially noticeable in the sphere of materials production.

The mission of the socialist intelligentsia lies in devoting its creative energies to the people and making an all-round contribution to the progress of socialist society. From the standpoint of tradition, of the historical heritage of our country and also from the point of view of conditions in the present world, this is the most honourable historical task our intelligentsia can fulfil. Many shortcomings in the work of the Party in the past resulted in part of the intelligentsia tending to feel superior and privileged. The petty-bourgeois revolt in 1968 asserted the thesis about an intellectual élite, which was to have led society. The right-wing grossly abused its almost monopoly position in the mass communication media for manipulating the "lower strata", i.e. the millions of working people. We not only reject these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas about the position of the social classes and strata, but from our own Czechoslovak example we have also realized to what catastrophes they lead. Socialist society devotes tremendous resources to supporting the increase in education, culture, science and all strata of the intelligentsia. It holds in esteem the work of that part of the intelligentsia which helps advance socialist society and, together with the workers and

farmers, participates in positive work. We shall take care to supplement the intelligentsia from the ranks of the working class and co-operative farmers and to strengthen its cohesion with the working people in the interests of socialism and communism. We should like all parts of the intelligentsia to devote their knowledge, skill and effort to the advancement of the socialist homeland. In this sphere a great deal of political education remains to be done.

Support must be given to the essential process of bringing together the working class, co-operative farmers, socialist intelligentsia and other social strata on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the basis of the development of socialism.

Our country is inhabited by the Czech and Slovak nations, and by people of Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian and German nationality. Throughout the course of its history, our Party has fought for the Leninist principles of equality and equal rights in relations among nations and nationalities. We have crowned the development of relations between our nations with the Leninist principle of a federative structure for our State. It should be added that the federative structure, although a novelty in this country and despite the short experience of it, has proved to be a success and has become a positive factor both for the development of our nations and nationalities and for the strengthening of the Czechoslovak state. We shall continue to promote this Leninist form of relations between our nations and strive for an optimum development of both our republics and, at the same time, for a strengthening of the unity, power and prosperity of the whole State.

The nationality problem is a very sensitive one, in which many memories of past experiences and many nationalist prejudices survive. It is one of the spheres where various hostile, reactionary and revisionist forces strive to get a foothold and weaken socialist society. Our Party is internationalist, it is an integrating force among the working people of both our nations and our nationalities. It must therefore cement and hold together the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia of both nations and of the other nationalities, in a common socialist aim and on the basis of a unified Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy.

We must struggle against vestiges of nationalism wherever they may appear in this country, whether in our domestic or our international connections. While being proud of our national, democratic and revolutionary traditions, we shall educate the working people of both our nations and of our nationalities to proletarian internationalism and fraternity, and we shall try to strengthen the unity of the working people's Czechoslovak consciousness. The development of socialist na-

tions and national federative socialism. Therefore, the struggle is emphasizing the role of the working class among the most important and foremost tasks of the State.

In the struggle against the bourgeoisie, political hands of the people, the bourgeoisie was transformed into farmers became the state and an instrument of workers, farmers and too, many ideas were lost. By abstract revisionist and the power of our working class as a dominant instrument of the State and the people.

Opportunism is a function of the State.

Today we call for a function of the State in the other working class work in the organization of all other spheres of work and work out to fulfil its mission.

The power of the State through the working class concealed the million-strong working class.

The basic national committee deal directly with the people in the degree, the participation in work. More and more activists in the total amount of work.

tions and nationalities is not in contradiction to the development of a federative socialist state; on the contrary, they are closely connected. Therefore, the strengthening of the socialist awareness of all citizens and the emphasizing of their affinity, their common interests and aims, are among the most foremost tasks of our internationalist Party, among the foremost tasks of strengthening the socialist state.

In the struggle of our working class and working people with the bourgeoisie, political and state power in Czechoslovakia passed into the hands of the people. A fundamental class change took place. The ruling bourgeoisie was overthrown and the exploited masses of workers and farmers became the ruling and decisive force in the State. It is a class state and an instrument for carrying out the class and socialist aims of the workers, farmers and other strata of the working people. In this sphere, too, many ideas were distorted and interpreted in the past in a revisionist way. By abstract terms about the State and democracy, groups of revisionist and anti-socialist forces actually strove to overthrow the power of our working class and working people and to seize the important instruments of state power. The basic class aspects of the function of the State and its bodies will have to be redefined.

Opportunist neglect of these Leninist ideas of a class approach to the function of the State caused us immense damage.

Today we can say that the Czechoslovak socialist State is fulfilling the function of instrument of the class power of the workers, the farmers and the other working people, and is gradually improving its methods of work in the organizational, economic, educational, cultural, defence and all other spheres. We shall strengthen our Czechoslovak socialist State and work out its various component parts and functions so that it will fulfil its mission in the all-round development of society.

The power of the working people makes itself evident in this country through the many-sided forms of socialist democracy. We have never concealed the fact that socialist democracy is a class democracy for the million-strong strata of the working people.

The basic form of the rule of the working people is the system of national committees and representative bodies. The national committees deal directly and immediately with the problems of the working people in the community, the town, the district and the region. To a high degree, the contentment of the working people and their growing participation in management and administration depends on their work. More than 220,000 deputies in these bodies, and together with the activists in the citizens' committees, commissions and other bodies, the total amounts to more than half a million voluntary collaborators from

the ranks of the citizens. These bodies have done a tremendous job since they were set up after the war. However, there are still only too many shortcomings in their work, often evident in an insensitive approach to the citizen, in that they fail to solve consistently the problems for which they are responsible. National committees, as directly elected bodies of the people, should work in such a way that the citizens look upon them as efficient representatives, as the people who deal with their day-to-day and perspective interests and requirements in such a way as not to tolerate mismanagement, irresponsibility, the enrichment of individuals, favouritism and other such evils. The Party must denote increased attention to the work of the national committees and, especially, to the work of communists in these broadly-based people's bodies, and it must concern itself especially with the development of all forms of direct participation by citizens in the management and administration of their towns and communities, and of our State.

In the not-too-distant future, elections are to be held in this country to elect the members of the national committees and all the representative bodies. In these bodies the position of the working class and the other working people must be strengthened, representation of women and young people must be increased substantially, and maximum effort must be exerted towards improving the work of this important link in our social order and socialist democracy.

The supreme elements in our representative system, namely the Federal Assembly, and the Czech and Slovak National Councils, are the representatives of the power of the people in our State. In accordance with the Constitution and with our socialist principles, these bodies bear great responsibility for furthering the basic class interests of the working people, both in the national and in the federal frameworks. They can fulfil this demanding mission only through the close alliance of deputies with the national committees and their electors.

We attach great importance to perfecting socialist legislation, so that it should be in keeping with the present requirements of the development of our State with the protection of citizens and society. . . .

Comrades!

The bitter experience through which we have passed has taught us what a high price has to be paid for neglecting any of the forms of ideological work and the political education of working people. As in the construction of the material and technological base of socialism, a fundamental element of the Party's activity is to win over the working people for our

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policy, constantly strengthening the unity of the Party and the people and deepening the moral and political unity of society. The main purpose of the political and ideological work of the Party and other component parts of our political and State system is to educate man towards thinking and acting in a socialist way. We need people who are thoroughly trained, who have specialized education, a high cultural level, are imbued with political and ideological enthusiasm and are fully devoted to socialism. Socialist awareness, even in our conditions, is not born automatically merely by the change in living and working conditions. It is the result of purposeful educational work based on the influence exerted by socialist gains. Whenever our own ideological influence weakens, whenever our ideological activities and political and cultural education are lagging, scope is provided for hostile trends, and petty-bourgeois attitudes emerge.

The fulfilment of all our tasks depends on the art of developing and mobilizing people's abilities, creative energies and moral qualities; on our success in purposefully moulding socialist man. Lenin considered this to be one of the basic tasks of a long-term and ambitiously conceived cultural revolution, in which the class struggle for new socialist relations, with the development of the economy and all spheres of society is organically and inseparably linked with the fight for a new world outlook, for the scientific ideology of the working class—Marxism-Leninism. Just as the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression promoted human selfishness, ruthlessness and indifference to the fate of others, the socialist system provides conditions for fostering a respect for honest work, comradely relations, love of country and solidarity with the working people and nations against exploitation and oppression throughout the world.

The moulding of socialist man, his positive qualities, socialist morale, civic responsibility and high working discipline; his striving for greater knowledge and his own development is a highly exacting task, the fulfilment of which is essential for the growth of socialist society. The more intensively the Party and the entire State organism devote themselves to this responsible work, the stronger the social system of socialism will be, and the greater the ability of the working class and all working people to administer their own State, consciously and purposefully shape their future.

It is particularly important to lead young people in this direction in order that they keep pace with the times and meet the requirements of the contemporary and future tasks of our society, that they be educated, honest and diligent, and proud of their socialist homeland—of the great

opportunities socialism is providing them, but also of their responsibility in the struggle for a new morrow.

In drawing up a balance-sheet of Party work in the years since the 13th Congress, we must note that in implementing this historic task—the moulding of a socialist man, especially the younger generation—we neglected and failed to consider many things, and thus essentially left the field clear for the influence of petty-bourgeois, rightist and revisionist trends. Since April 1969, we have been making great efforts to overcome the disruption caused by the rightist and anti-socialist forces. However, we know that well conceived and long-term work in the ideological sphere and in the political education of the masses still remains to be done.

The struggle for a socialist profile for our people is at the same time an ideological struggle against all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants, currents and trends which either still persist among certain strata of society or are the consequence of systematic ideological subversion on the part of the imperialist world. The past years have brought much proof of the imperialist centre's subversive activities against Czechoslovakia and its socialist system, and of gross interference in our internal affairs. These subversive activities are still going on today, either in the lying, slanderous campaigns of the bourgeois news service "Free Europe" and other similar channels of imperialist propaganda, or in various other forms and methods. The ideological and class struggle continues, and we can expect nothing from imperialists that would be of advantage to our socialist system or to our Party. . . .

The Application of the Party's Leading Role in Every Sphere of Life

An important aspect of our political struggle with revisionism is the leading role of the Party. Leninism has taught us, and practical experience gained through socialist construction has made it clear that the leading and organizing role of Party is an irreplaceable and immutable prerequisite for successful socialist advancement. We have also discovered that any weakening of the leading role of the Party is a step backward and leads to crisis. The historically inevitable need for the leading role of the Party grows with the new tasks and new requirements of socialist construction. The more advanced our society is, the more demanding are the political, economic and ideological tasks, the more urgent is the need for the leading role of the Party in society and the more comprehensive must be its application. The Party ensures the leading role of the working class. Its policy comprehends the interests of all

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classes and strata of society. It is a guarantor of the defeat of hostile forces, of the overcoming of class antagonism, and of the consolidation of socialist power. The Party guarantees a link-up of our construction with the struggle of the international progressive movement, with the community of socialist countries, with the Soviet Union.

The Party is the main force which clears the way to new needs, new methods and demands. The Party is the only force capable of formulating a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist programme of society's development, on the basis of scientific socialism and of organizing working people to ensure its implementation. That is why it is the primary duty of all communists to do everything to strengthen the leading role of the Party, why it is an objectively necessary condition of a steady and successful development of our society, as well as in the fundamental interest of the working class and of all the people.

The revisionists tried to limit and degrade the leading role of the Party to vague ideological activity, and to deprive the Party of the actual management of social processes. However, Leninism teaches us, and our experience confirms, that successful socialist construction requires the Party, in its leading role, to strive for a unity of conceptual and executive activity, unity of programmatic and organizational work, unity of words and deeds. For the Party to be able to direct the further development of society in the next decade effectively and purposefully, it will be essential to give greater attention in our work to cognitive activity, to make use of Marxist-Leninist science for in-depth analyses of social processes and to generalize the experience of the masses, and on this basis, to raise the conceptual character of managerial work. We intend to start preparatory work on a long-term programme for the development of our socialist society. At the same time, it will be necessary to increase substantially our ability to turn plans and resolutions into reality. Unity of both these aspects is of decisive importance for increasing the overall standard of the directing work of the Party.

Simultaneously with strengthening the leading role of the Party, we shall make unceasing efforts aimed at improving the methods and forms of its application. Our enemies try to claim that the leading role of the Party means a power monopoly and that it impedes development of the activity of the working people. When we encounter hostile, anti-socialist and revisionist activity, we declare frankly that the communists will do everything to frustrate it in its embryonic stage. Such initiative and activity as is conducive to the development of socialist society must be given all-round support and be promoted—that is the role and purpose of the Party. In no case do we understand the leading role of the Party to

be that of Party bodies assuming the powers and responsibilities of State and economic bodies—we have already experienced this too and know where it led us—but they will give political guidance to communists in the respective sectors, supervise their work, and lead them towards initiative and responsibility for the implementation of Party policy. Nor does the leading role of the Party mean issuing petty orders to social organizations; but it does mean promoting their activity and initiative in implementing Party policy....

Comrades!

A task of fundamental importance for us is to win over the broadest strata of the population for the implementation of Party policy, unremittingly strengthening and deepening the unity of the Party and the people, which is not given once and for all but must be renewed again and again, with every new task and at every new stage. It is clear to communists that they are not building socialism for themselves, and that they cannot build it by themselves, relying on their own resources. The development of socialism can be brought about only through the creative activity of millions. To promote and win for the common cause the enormous energy, experience, talent, education and skill of our people, of the nations of our country—that is the main prerequisite for making headway. It is also the basis on which we proceed in our attitude to non-Party people, whom we strive tirelessly to win over as citizens of a socialist State with equal rights for participation in drawing up and carrying out plans for the development of society. We welcome everyone who sincerely wishes to take part in our common effort, and we shall create conditions for making use of the initiative, knowledge and experience of the people. This, naturally, also goes for those who were not given new Party membership-cards, and who wish to rectify their past mistakes by honest work. We shall, however, wage a consistent political struggle against those who stand on the other shore. Any manifestation of domineering attitudes or superiority over those who are not members of the Party must be alien to communists. As regards our approach to people, we must abandon the sectarian notion that what we, communists, understand and what we are convinced of must automatically be clear and comprehensible to everyone. To convince people patiently by personal example and argument—that is the communist's role.

Over the half-century of class struggle, the Party has amassed an enormous wealth of experience of how to win over and lead the masses, and of what organizational forms to choose in order to get through to

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them with its communist truth and to convince them, by practical example, of the correctness of our policy. This experience gave rise to the slogan "Back to the Masses" to which we have reverted. We can say that our enemies' predictions that the Party would remain isolated have been proved wrong. During the process of consolidation the Party has been winning ever increasing support from the working people. Ever closer contacts are being established between Party organizations and non-Party people. We are convinced that the decisions which our Congress will adopt will meet with the full approval of all those who honestly wish socialism and the future of our country well, and will bring about still closer ties between the Party and the people. We are not going to take the road of cheap promises and seek cheap popularity. We shall always and frankly speak only the truth, even if it is sometimes bitter, and we know that the people will understand us and give us their support, as they have always done in the past when we followed such a course.

It is essential to maintain constant improvement in the forms and methods of mass political work, to seek ways of penetrating all groups of working people. It is worth fighting for every upright person, even though he may have let himself be deluded and made mistakes. Mass work in enterprises must, however, be considered our prime task in the coming period. To win over the entire working class to the Party's policy, to turn enterprises—particularly big ones—into reliable mainstays of the Party, and to ensure that every upright person knows and understands the Party policy and gives it his approval—this, then, is the task to which all efforts must be orientated. . . .

Comrades!

The demands on the management of society are directly reflected in growing demands on the political and organizational work of the Party; on its ability to formulate strategic and tactical tasks correctly, to determine priorities; to choose effective tactics and forms of work; to choose, prepare and deploy cadres properly, and to check consistently on the fulfilment of the tasks assigned.

Without any doubt, the Party will be able to carry out these tasks only if it is united, cohesive and loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and if it is unflagging in observing Leninist norms in its internal life and in its activities. We saw to what tragic consequences the violation of the norms led. We also saw how their rehabilitation after April 1969 has redoubled the strength of the Party.

Firm political, organizational and ideological unity, and united ac-

tion by the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the source of the Party's strength and a prerequisite for all our achievements. Thanks to its political struggle against the rightists and to the subsequent purging, the Party has attained a high degree of unity among its ranks. However, we must unceasingly restore, intensify and strengthen Party unity while solving all new questions. The Party is not, and will not in the future be immune to external pressure, to uncontrolled petty-bourgeois activity, to manifestations of casualness and inertia, to opportunist attempts to avoid controversies, to the appearance of obstacles, the influence of difficulties arising during the work of construction.

The conclusions which we have drawn are expressed in the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPCz on the topical question of Party unity. We are convinced that this document, too, will be endorsed by the Congress as a binding directive for the further course of the Party.

The main danger against which we shall have to fight is rightist opportunism, which has taken deep roots in this country as a result of historical development. Therefore part of the struggle for Party unity is and will remain the high-principled political and ideological struggle against all manifestations of opportunism and revisionism. In the interests of the Party, we must counter all attempts at introducing the formation of splinter groups or the admission of infringements, whatever their motivation, of the adoption line and the course which the Party has laid down.

The exchange of Party membership-cards concluded the stage of purging the Party, and thus the past period in the life of the Party was brought to a close. The task of strengthening and consolidating Party ranks and of improving the quality of its work have become the order of the day. Systematic care for the purity of the Party and its ranks continues to be the prime duty of all Party organizations and of all communists. In future, the Party must part company with those who disrupt Party and State unity and discipline, who misuse their position, and whose actions weaken the authority and sully the good name of the Party.

Of great importance for Party unity will be the correct solution of questions related to its organizational structure. It is especially important to ensure that under the conditions of the federative structure of the State, the Party retains its character of a united, internationalist party which will be a guarantor of the ties of fraternal co-operation of Czechoslovakia's nations and nationalities, an integrating force of the working class and the working people of the whole State.

We have made progress by the opportunity to continue strengthening. It is the decisive factor for increasing the activity of construction, we still have much to do consciously for discipline still in cases of infringement.

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We have made an end to the harmful practices carried into the Party by the opportunists. However, our great struggle makes it necessary to continue strengthening the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. It is the decisive prerequisite for improving the internal life of the Party, for increasing the action capability of Party organizations and the activity of communists. Communist discipline has been tightened, but we still have much to do to ensure that every member of our Party fights consciously for its policy and fulfils Party resolutions. In order to tighten discipline still further, we shall ensure that consequences are drawn from cases of infringement of Party Statutes and resolutions.

The development of the internal life of the Party at the present stage—together with the strengthening of democratic centralism as a prerequisite for united action—makes possible, and requires us also to emphasize another factor, namely the development of inner-Party democracy. We have convinced ourselves that democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy cannot be separated and set one against the other. Bureaucratic centralism, anarchy and actions bring harm to the Party and must not be tolerated. To ensure the unity and discipline of the Party and its ability to act, all communists must participate fully in shaping and implementing the Party policy that all have and assert equal rights, and all fulfil their duties. Consequently, we must continue strengthening the democratic principles of shaping, carrying out and checking Party policy.

An important element in these principles is the strengthening of the collective character of leadership. To lead collectively and to define personal responsibility exactly must become an inviolable principle for all Party bodies. The proceedings and results of the annual general meetings and conferences confirmed that notable successes can be reached only in an atmosphere of collective, factual, frank and democratic discussion of the fundamental questions of Party life.

We consider it necessary to promote criticism and self-criticism as an important condition of the full life of the Party and of successful progress. It is not only a reliable Leninist method of exposing and redressing shortcomings, but also an important means of activating communists. We stress, especially for the benefit of executives, that one of the characteristics of a communist should be his ability to listen to critical remarks and to draw lessons from them. Party organizations must not tolerate practices whereby critical comments are not heeded or are even suppressed; they must regard the encouragement of criticism and self-criticism as an important part of their activities.

Where it is possible to develop the internal life of Party organizations

in this way, there will also be the best conditions for overcoming the chronic diseases of passivity and formalism which have for years been attendant features of the life of our Party. Experience shows that in those Party organizations in which tasks and responsibility are unequivocally and clearly defined, in which all communists carry out specific tasks and in which there is systematic control, where there is an atmosphere of strictness as well as of confidence, passivity of members disappears. We must see that the term "passive communist" disappears from Party vocabulary.

Formalism, which still survives in some places, is just as bad as passivity. We all know how much initiative, willingness and good will was wasted unnecessarily in the past owing to formalism. That is why we must not tolerate sham activity cloaked in clichés which mostly conceals laziness and incompetence. Are there not people in this country whose activity is merely calculated to give an outward impression?

The establishment of comradely relations among communists is also extremely important for the life of the Party. In their mutual relations, they should place high demands on themselves and on others; there should also be, as a matter of course, mutually critical and self-critical, as well as comradely understanding, help and support. . . .

Our Foreign Policy Serves Socialism and Peace

Comrades!

The complicated development through which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has passed over the last five years has also left its mark on the international activity of the Party and the foreign policy of our State.

"The Lesson drawn from the Crisis in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" presents an objective picture of one of the great battles fought between socialism and imperialism in the sixties. It shows to the full extent the interrelationship between internal political disruption and imperialist subversion, as well as the unavoidable need for close co-operation between the internal and internationalist socialist forces in defence of the revolutionary gains of socialism in the CSSR. It is an irrefutable fact that the rescue, strengthening and present development of socialism in our country represents a remarkable victory for the forces of world revolution and a heavy loss and defeat for imperialism.

That is the foundation of the class truth on which we have based our analysis of the recent past. We said even at the Moscow International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969, that by

the 14th Congress we will prepare an evaluation of the society founded by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party for the working people.

We express our confidence that we have been able to achieve in two years and more what we intended to strengthen and to extend a comradely and objective truth about the facts we have achieved up to the present. The successes is significant.

The settlement of the interests of socialism and the movement of communist rightists; on the basis of in solving the

Our Party has the power to the Moscow Conference of Parties in 1969, the movement of world democratic progress in the action of the Marxism-Leninism also agree with international nature of our ability to a

At the present majority of this Congress recent experience revolutionary

the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia we would prepare an evaluation of the crisis in which the Party and Czechoslovak society found itself in 1968. This we have done. The conclusions reached by the Central Committee were unanimously approved by Czechoslovak communists; they are supported also by the great majority of our working people.

We express our comradely gratitude to all the fraternal parties that have been observing our developments sympathetically over the past two years and solidly supporting the efforts of Czechoslovak communists to strengthen socialism in this country. We again express our readiness to extend a comradely welcome to everyone who wishes to learn the objective truth about our situation, and we shall make available all the facts we have deduced from our present knowledge and evaluation. It is up to the fraternal parties to judge for themselves which of our experiences is significant for them, too.

The settlement of the Czechoslovak crisis in harmony with the interests of socialism and internationalism did not hamper the settlement of conflicting international problems, as was predicted by the rightists; on the contrary, it improved conditions for achieving progress in solving the problems of post-war development still not settled.

Our Party considers its cardinal task to be to contribute with all its power to the implementation of the conclusions jointly adopted at the Moscow conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. This conference gave a strong impetus to the development of widespread action among socialist, national liberation and democratic forces in their struggle against imperialism for revolutionary progress in the world. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will play an effective part in every initiative aimed at strengthening the unity of action of the communist and revolutionary movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is why we also agree with the fraternal parties' views that a regular, broadly-based international meeting of communists should become a permanent feature of our movement and would promote its revolutionary vigour and ability to act....

At the present time we have good comradely relations with the great majority of fraternal parties. We wish to assure them from the platform of this Congress that Czechoslovak communists, taking a lesson from recent experience, will vigilantly guard their socialist achievements and revolutionary workers' power in Czechoslovakia. We are aware that the

demanding tasks of socialist construction which we are now accomplishing require the full development of all the creative forces of the Party and the people, the organic harmonizing of our national and international interests and obligations, and consistent adherence to the general laws of building a socialist society. Our Party will exert every effort to contribute in a comprehensive and effective manner to strengthening the political, economic and defensive power of the socialist community.

We assure the fraternal communist parties of the capitalist countries of our solidarity and support for them in their struggle with the bourgeoisie, for the rights and just demands of the working class and for social progress. We are profoundly convinced that sooner or later the working class struggle in the capitalist countries will win conditions for basic democratic and socialist change.

We wish at the time to assure the communist and revolutionary democratic parties of the developing countries of Asia and Africa, that we shall give active support to all their endeavours to overcome the social and economic heritage of colonialism, dependence on imperialism and the various forms of neo-colonialist exploitation. We are in full solidarity with the efforts of the revolutionary and progressive forces in these states to achieve a non-capitalist solution to the vital problems which will ensure socialist prospects. We pledge our support to all those countries still waging a national liberation struggle for release from the colonial yoke.

The main pillar of power of world socialism and the most important source of its revolutionary energy is the Soviet Union, which also represents an impassable barrier against the expansionist and predatory character of imperialism. It is above all thanks to its tremendous economic and military power, its international authority and its Leninist peace programme, which was once more summarized in the foreign policy declarations of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, that socialism is now asserting its influence in solving all world problems. . . .

In view of the geographical position of our country, we are interested in peaceful developments in Europe and in an effective system of collective security. We are of the opinion that the constructive initiative of the socialist countries over many years has created favourable conditions for a thoroughly prepared All-European Conference on Security and Co-operation, convened without any preconditions. There can be no doubt that every positive step in strengthening conditions of peace in Europe is of worldwide importance. On the basis of their historic

experience, the European countries must take into account differences in social conditions in the world and co-operation

We want to re-examine our Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence provided that the people to live and work in peace. Our resolution is to support the peoples of good will in their struggle against world imperialism. The United States of America is a progressive, democratic country with its expansive aspirations. The Communist Party has a moral obligation to play a leading role in any struggle. . . .

We Look to the Future

Dear comrades,
The Central Committee of the Party has informed you about the results of the work we have waged during the past period for the

It is the role of the Party to work out a firm

We have no doubt that the debate on the future of the Party and on the system that prevails in our country is a preparation for coping with the difficulties which international relations will bring.

The Congress

experience, the European states should develop joint efforts, regardless of differences in social systems, for overcoming all obstacles and barriers standing in the way of understanding on the question of peace, security and co-operation. . . .

We want to reconfirm at our Congress our firm determination to expand political, economic and cultural relations, in the spirit of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, with all capitalist countries, provided that their governments will respect the wish of our working people to live and work in a socialist society. We are convinced that this our resolution is in harmony with the aspirations of all nations and peoples of good will. But never for a moment should we forget the threat of world imperialism, headed by the aggressive circles of the United States of America. We must evolve a broadly based campaign with the progressive, democratic, national liberation and socialist forces against its expansive aggressivity and intentions of world domination. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia takes it as its highest international obligation to play as large a share as possible in this common revolutionary struggle. . . .

We Look to the Future with Confidence and Certainty

Dear comrades and delegates!

The Central Committee has submitted to you a report on the development of the Party and society since the 13th Congress. It has informed you about the basic conclusions it has drawn from this development. It has informed you about the great struggle to overcome the crisis which we have waged since April 1969. It has also proposed tasks for the future period for the prospective advancement of our homeland.

It is the role of the Congress to evaluate these results and tasks and to work out a firm line for the Party in the coming years.

We have no doubt that the delegates to our Congress will approach the debate on the Central Committee's report in the same creative spirit, and on the same principled and responsible attitude which again prevails in our Party and which has predominated throughout the whole preparation of the Congress. We do not doubt that the Congress will cope with this important task with a consciousness of the high responsibility which it owes to the whole Party, the working people and the entire international communist movement.

The Congress closes a difficult and complex stage in the life of our

Party and of society, and opens a new stage. After years of crisis and uncertainty, of improvisation, and of the struggle and victory of the Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party in the last few years, the 14th Congress can now safely draw up an ambitious and realistic programme for the further advancement of our socialist homeland. We can show all the people of our State how to proceed so that we can root out the causes of past crisis, create an atmosphere of contentment, trust, certainty and optimism—conditions favourable for creative work and a happy life for our people. The tasks we have to consider cover the vital interests of our working class, the working people, our nations and our socialist society. Conditions now exist for all our people to unite in the fulfilment of these tasks.

We are convinced that we have all the right conditions for this hopeful prospect of further advancement. We look to the future with confidence and certainty.

From crisis and shocks, and from difficult struggle, the Marxist-Leninist teaching, our working class, the working people, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the socialist system have emerged victorious. Taking a lesson from past mistakes and crises, we shall pass on to further victories and successes for our people.

The guarantee of further successes is our glorious Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which is now commemorating its 50th anniversary and is imbued with new revolutionary strength and determination.

Therefore: Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

The guarantees of our victory are the creative ability, the diligence, the experience and the patriotism of our working class and the working people; the fraternity and unity of our nations.

Therefore: Long live our working people! Long live the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

The guarantee of our contented life, of our national and State freedom and our socialist order, is the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, our membership of the international communist movement.

Therefore: Long live the unity of the socialist countries!

Long live the International Communist Movement!

Long live and prosper our great ally—the Soviet Union!

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The Party, the State and the People.

Answers to questions from *World Marxist Review* editors
September 1972

Question: You stressed at your Party's 14th Congress that the Party's successes stem from loyalty to, and creative use of Marxism-Leninism in changing conditions. What do you think are the main differences in the work of the Party in the principal stages of its history? Particularly, how did the fact that the working class in your country won power by peaceful means reflect on the forms and methods of Party work?

Answer: Analysing the past period and framing a realistic programme for Czechoslovakia's further socialist development, our 14th Congress first of all took into account the following lesson from the Party's history: it performed its duty to the workers and all working people of our two nations, and to the world Communist movement and socialist world system only when it consistently observed Lenin's teaching and applied its universal principles in the concrete conditions of the respective periods of class struggle and socialist construction. Conversely, every deviation from Lenin's ideas and, above all, departures from class and internationalist positions, always led to mistakes. In 1968-9 they put in jeopardy all our socialist gains.

These conclusions were drawn from our more than fifty years' experience, rich in examples of the Leninist approach to various highly complicated problems. One example was the growing up and tempering process, the bolshevization of our Party in the 1930s when under Klement Gottwald's leadership it learned to apply the Leninist strategy and tactics of political struggle and succeeded in rallying not only the core of the working class, but also large sections of other working people.

Another example was our line of building the national liberation struggle against the Nazi occupation. Following our country's liberation by the Soviet Army, the Communist Party made creative use of universal Leninist principles to lead the working class, in alliance with the peasants and other working people, to victory in the socialist revolution and the realization of their cherished aim, the elimination of exploitation and building of socialism. Now we can also add that by following Leninist principles we were able to repulse the foes of socialism and assure the country's further socialist development. It is not surprising, therefore, that recognition of Leninism's vital importance for the working class and the life of all working people is at the basis of all our work and is taking deep root in the people's consciousness.

Our aims and principles, consonant with the laws of the epoch of revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism, were and are the same. Their application has never been stereotyped, always creative, completely in the Leninist spirit. What changed were the conditions in which the working class and its vanguard applied them. And first and foremost we should note the changed conditions of struggle before and after the conquest of power.

During the *struggle for political power*—a struggle which in Czechoslovakia was a continuation of the revolutionary path already traversed, and reposed on our own and international experience, a struggle fought as the national-democratic revolution grew into a socialist revolution—the Party acted mainly on the basic Leninist tenet that the dictatorship of the proletariat is exclusively a revolutionary cause, to be performed by the working class and other sections of working people led by the Communist Party, and that it can be accomplished only by a conscious political movement, making the most of favourable internal and international conditions.

A considerable revolutionizing effect was exercised on the masses by the cruel lesson of Munich, the betrayal of the people and the Czechoslovak Republic by the ruling bourgeoisie and its class allies, and by the historic fact that the decisive part in crushing fascism and liberating Czechoslovakia was played by the Soviet Union, that home- and foreign-based resistance forces, headed chiefly by Communists, participated in this battle, which culminated in a national uprising. A new people's democratic system grew up on this foundation, with a National Front government of Czechs and Slovaks and a system of national committees resting on the worker-peasant alliance and a broad national-democratic bloc in which Communists held increasingly strong positions. However, at that time a section of the bourgeoisie, too, still wielded political power

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alongside the working people. It follows that in 1945 the main question of the revolution—that of power—was not as yet completely settled.

The Party was oriented on a gradual, peaceful passage to socialism. The theoretical basis for this was Lenin's teaching on the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution.

The Party was winning the trust of the masses in daily battles for vital requirements: in constructive efforts and sharp class collisions in the mass organizations and state institutions; confiscation of the property of traitors and fascist collaborators; nationalization of key industries, banks and insurance companies; land reform; the solution of the national question; the democratization of education, culture and social maintenance. The reactionary elements in the leadership of non-Communist parties lost influence, for they departed more and more from the National Front government's programme and were, in effect, betraying the ideas of the national-democratic revolution which had brought their parties into being and in the name of which a portion of the people had supported them.

The February 1948 victory was the culmination of the growth of the national-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. Full power was taken over by the workers and other working people. The People's Democracy began to perform all the functions of the proletarian dictatorship. It was thus that, led by the CPCz, the broad alliance of working people headed by the working class assumed political power peacefully, without an armed collision, in keeping with essential constitutional and parliamentary traditions. The forms of power that had evolved during the national-democratic revolution were preserved.

By the peaceful way of winning political power we mean only the forms, the means of the class collision, not its content. This was the case in Czechoslovakia. The Communists' orientation on the peaceful way was a revolutionary orientation, implying a class struggle for leadership against the bourgeoisie. The purpose was to overthrow the bourgeoisie and win power for the workers and all working people, or, as Gottwald put it, to put into effect the principles of Marxism-Leninism, applying the Leninist strategy and tactics to Czechoslovak conditions.

That the revolution developed peacefully, as the classic tenets of Marxism-Leninism had anticipated, depended not only on the working class and the Communist Party, but mainly on the strength and forms of resistance of the bourgeoisie.

During *the struggle for socialism*, Gottwald reminded us time and again of Lenin's words: the class struggle does not cease after the complete conquest of power; it continues in other forms, and the working class and

its Party carry an incomparably greater burden of responsibility as they assume full charge of building socialism.

True, the changed conditions were not always, and not everywhere, taken fully into account. This applies especially to the recent period.

The interests of socialism require the Party to utilize the leverage of socialist power and socialist relations of production to the fullest in resolving the people's vital problems; to guide the country's development imaginatively and scientifically, enhance the socialist relations and forms of life, and consistently defend the Marxist-Leninist principles against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The National Front is a specific attribute of the socialist system in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. It has gradually become the political embodiment of the alliance of the leading working class and the cooperative farmers and other working people jointly building socialism. Socialism is the programmatic aim of all the parties and mass organizations in the National Front; hence, they acknowledge the leading role of the Communist Party as the representative of the workers and all working people. Based on a common programme of building socialism, this relationship is incomparably deeper and more developed than that of an ordinary political coalition in the bourgeois parliamentary system. Sectarian activity outside the National Front would only reduce the mass basis of socialist construction. Therefore, the attempts of the Rightist forces to disrupt the National Front by calling for the restoration of ordinary political coalitions was clearly a blow against the common socialist aims of the National Front.

The workers' peaceful takeover, with none of the class conflicts developing into an armed clash, may be described as a school of revolutionary experience. But, as we learned here in Czechoslovakia, following the peaceful takeover the Party must take note most carefully of the regularities of the class differentiation and struggle, for they are bound to surface, whatever the conditions may be. The Party must closely observe the universal laws of building socialism, use all the political means which were effective in the past, fortify the workers' power by moulding socialist human relationships, always apply Leninist principles creatively, and conduct intensive ideological work.

Speaking of the peculiarities of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia, we must also stress that our alliance with the Soviet Union has been of incalculable value for our workers and people; more, it averted foreign counter-revolutionary intervention during the decisive clash for power. And naturally we owe it entirely to our alliance with the Soviet

Union and the socialist system that it is possible and is

Question: The 14th Congress of the CPSU, stressing the danger in Czechoslovakia from that your Party's methods, etc. What have you to say about this?

Answer: As the 13th and 14th Congresses of the CPSU history. With the process, the 14th Congress of the CPSU

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The Party's 14th Congress launched by our Party Marxist-Leninist chiefly in the CPSU opportunists of the CPCz to p of our socialist

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Union and the socialist system as a whole that our socialist development is possible and is guaranteed today and in the future.

Question: The 14th CPCz Congress decisions refer to combating opportunism, stressing that Right opportunism and revisionism are the main danger in Czechoslovakia. Anti-communist propaganda infers therefrom that your Party is turning "conservative" and reverting to voluntarist methods, etc. It even avers that political trials are taking place. What have you to say on this score?

Answer: As the Czechoslovak Communists see it, the period between the 13th and 14th Congress was a time of the gravest trials in our Party's history. With the concrete political results attained in the consolidation process, the 14th Congress was able to write finis to it.

The political line of the 14th Congress orientates the Party and society to the tasks of the new stage to upward movement, first and foremost, in the economy, and to the active participation of the working people in building a developed socialist society.

The Party's policy of principle has enabled it to deepen the process launched by our Central Committee meeting of April 1969. The Party's Marxist-Leninist character was fully restored. This was accomplished chiefly in the battle against Right opportunism, by clearing the Right opportunists out of the Party. Thereby we created the preconditions for the CPCz to perform all the functions devolving on it as the leading force of our socialist society.

When the Party declared at its 14th Congress that it regarded Right opportunism and revisionism as the main danger in the prevailing conditions, it merely observed the lessons of the crisis period and followed our analysis of the home and foreign situation. This does not mean that it underrates the harm and danger of Left opportunism and revisionism, and the accompanying sectarianism and adventurism.

The voluntarism of the 1960s, following the completion of the foundations of socialism, was expressed chiefly in an overestimation of the level of social development attained and idealisation of moral-political unity, which resulted in unrealistic political and economic aims. The laws of social development were not sufficiently heeded, and the Leninist guidelines for Party, State and economy were violated. And with the leadership of that time failing to determine the reasons for all the deficiencies or to remedy the mistakes, the situation ripened for a dangerous upsurge of Right opportunism and revisionism.

The revisionists' ideological offensive was mounted behind a screen of criticism of dogmatism and past mistakes. They took advantage of the

weakness of the leadership, which could not distinguish sincere criticism designed to restore the Party's principles from revisionist perfidy. Right-wing criticism also misled some honest people. The revisionists began by casting doubt on our way to socialism, then denied the relevance of Leninism and searched for a so-called Czechoslovak model, and ended up by assailing the pillars of socialism.

The anti-socialist counter-revolutionary complexion of what the opportunists were doing became especially clear after direct attacks were mounted on central planning and the state form of socialist ownership, which are basic principles of socialist economy. The Right elements wanted a free, spontaneous market, leading to chaos and inflation and a breakdown in labour discipline. The economic damage was tremendous. A large portion of our people lost its sense of security, which affected their faith in the socialist system.

The Right elements proclaimed a clearly defined but specious platform of "democratic" and "humane" socialism, directed against the authority of the socialist state and the guiding role of the Party. They provided legal opportunities for outright counter-revolutionaries, many of whom had at one time been penalized as saboteurs and agents of imperialist secret services, to put themselves at the head of a drive to destroy the existing political structures.

The Right elements showed clearly what they meant by "freedom and democracy"—the slogan they used most of all—and to whom these principles applied. They organized frenetic campaigns against anyone who spoke up for Socialism and exposed them for what they really were.

As fully confirmed later, the Right opportunist's activity was not a mere miscalculation: it was a plan to wipe out the revolutionary gains of generations of workers and their revolutionary party. Their programme put the Right elements into one camp with international anti-communism.

Naturally, anti-Communist propaganda tries to obscure the fact that the Right opportunists and revisionists were fighting not against dogmatism but against Marxism-Leninism in general. It is trying to conceal the fact that the Right forces did not take into account, much less accept, the principles of building socialism; that voluntarism attained full bloom in Czechoslovakia precisely in 1968. Thus, to open up the way for a creative approach to the problems of building a developed socialist society, we had to grapple with Right opportunism and revisionism, and their exponents. And the fact that our Party was able to overcome the social crisis and remove its causes in so short a time by purely political means testifies to the vitality and correctness of our policy and the maturity of

the working class internationalism.

The events could not be understood without economic, political and social context. So the Party is determined to eliminate the conditions for such a crisis to see it, the signs of other things, the harmfulness of

Now we are conducting political trials and culled in the process. People have confidence. Consequently, both to the country and anyone violating the law will be none other than Communist.

It is not sufficient for people committed to the struggle with the reactionaries.

Question: "How to preserve and develop the talk of specific Czechoslovak 'model' and

Answer: The same such ways and conditions to utilize the

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the working class, showing that the ideas of socialism and proletarian internationalism are deeply rooted in the consciousness of our people.

The events of recent years have been a grim lesson for us. We have understood that any deviation from Marxism-Leninism in the economic, political or ideological fields provides a medium for revisionism. So the Party is doing its utmost to build up politico-ideological work and eliminate the remnants of opportunist views and postures, to create conditions for the extension and deepening of socialist democracy. As we see it, the significance of our defeating the Right elements, is, among other things, that the vast majority of the people have understood the harmfulness of their plans and actions.

Now we are being accused of reverting to the practices of the 1950s, to political trials. These charges come mainly from those who had miscalculated in their counter-revolutionary planning. Our Party and the people have condemned the past deformations and put an end to them. Consequently, we demand observance of socialist legality, in relation both to the citizens of our land and to our socialist state. However, if anyone violates the law he must bear the responsibility. There are and will be none of the fabricated or unlawful political trials alleged by anti-Communist propaganda.

It is not surprising that our adversaries decry firm measures against people committing acts hostile to the socialist system. This is in keeping with the reactionary interests of their class and with the logic of the class struggle.

Question: The care shown by Communists in socialist countries to preserve and enhance progressive national institutions has given rise to talk of specific national "models of socialism". Could you, from the Czechoslovak experience, show the difference between the concepts "model" and "national" specifics in a socialist society?

Answer: Throughout its history, as we have said, our Party looked for such ways and means of applying Marxism-Leninism in Czechoslovak conditions that would enable us, in the concrete interests of the people, to utilize the traditional national forms of political life.

The relatively developed forms of bourgeois democracy in our country were furthered by the traditional political activeness of the working class and its resolute participation in the revolutionary struggle for democracy against the fascist and chauvinist reactionary policy of the *haute bourgeoisie* and its parties. Knowing this, we made every possible use of those organizational and political forms of the past that had stood the test of time and could be filled with socialist content.

This applies, among others, to the main organs of power, the National Committees, first formed as revolutionary bodies to combat fascism, and to the National Front, formed as a political bloc of organizations representing all the classes and strata that took part in the national liberation struggle. Communists in these organs and organizations worked for a consistently democratic line, winning over the politically unaffiliated and gaining prestige among members of other parties. The battle for the masses was fought in all the existing organizations, and it was our Party that won.

In this way, by democratic means, often in grim political battles, we succeeded in building a new socialist political system devoid of the elements of bourgeois parliamentary pseudo-democracy (inter-party struggle for power, a legal opposition to the ruling majority, representation of interests only by political parties, etc.). Elements of political life developed on the democratic principles of co-operation among all progressive forces, under the leadership of the Party.

As the consequences of the crisis period are being overcome in all areas of social life, new elements of socialist democracy—based on the new evaluation of accumulated experience—will and must develop. This the Party knows. And we also know that the stagnation and passivity prior to 1968, caused largely by incorrect forms of political work, and especially by formalism and subjectivism in economic and political matters, were used by “elitist” Right elements in urging the working class, by means of demagogical slogans, to deny its support to the Party. So we are striving to increase the workers’ influence on political decisions and are devoting much of our attention to the life of working-class collectives. Many of the new deputies to National Committees are workers. And the republican and federal trade union congresses have shown that the people are fully aware that the unions are a political and social force representing their interests, and are provided every opportunity to carry forward their social functions.

The same may be said of the youth organization, whose purpose should be to bring home to the young people ever more clearly the place they occupy in society, so that they take part in developing it.

Non-Communist political parties are active in the National Front, which encompasses many public organizations. Their activity, based on the National Front platform, shows that our political system offers broad opportunities for active political co-operation, because the non-Communist parties and their members take part enterprisingly and, as a rule, conscientiously, in building socialism and in the work of the National Committees and public organizations.

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The Czechoslovak political system is not merely a compound of "traditional" forms and a new socialist content. It alters these forms in accordance with the changing conditions.

CPCz policy has always taken into account that the population of the country consists of two peoples and also national minorities linked by fraternal bonds. Opposing the incorrect bourgeois conception of a single so-called Czechoslovak nation, the Party has always, even at the time of the bourgeois republic, worked in accordance with Lenin's ideas on the equality and all-round development of both nations, the Czechs and the Slovaks, who make up most of the population. Following the victory in the national liberation struggle, the national question was dealt with according to democratic principles. Despite the unfavourable effects of subjectivism and a crude approach to national policy in the years following the victory of the revolution, we achieved certain incontestable success, especially in the economic field.

The Party saw that subordinating the national question to the class standpoint and consequently to the *international* question, did not in principle mean that national problems required no political solution. We acted on Lenin's ideas and the experience of the Soviet Union, where federalism has proved its worth, being based on the principle of equality of peoples in a common socialist state and forming a dependable basis for the international co-operation of peoples and nationalities.

Acting on these time-tested Leninist principles, our Party and the fraternal Czech and Slovak peoples, along with the national minorities, undertook the task of removing the mistakes of the past period by creating a federative system. The political and state equality of the two peoples offered better opportunities for balancing; their economic, social and cultural level more quickly as part of the process of the general development of the country for the good of all working people.

Full utilization of the potentialities of the national republics in developing the state as a whole is bound up with the determining and unifying role of the Communist Party, which, in line with Lenin's conception, is the one party, the one vanguard of our socialist nations.

The foes of socialism, and the Right opportunists are raising a howl over "national models" of socialism in the various socialist countries.

The concept or term, "model", is used chiefly for a complex, intrinsically organized entity with its own laws of development, with its own aim—the "project". The use of this term is meant to signify that socialism does not exist as a single socio-economic system, that there are but differently patterned systems or "models" functioning dissimilarly

and dissimilar in many substantive ways, and which have only one thing in common—that they are all called socialist.

This ideological sleight of hand denies the socialism that really exists, portraying it as “state-capitalist”, “state-bureaucratic”, etc., and putting forward other “models of socialism”, to which quite often petty-bourgeois parties declare allegiance. The claim that a “democratic socialism” was in the making in Czechoslovakia was intended to help the demagogical conditioning of the masses, to camouflage anti-communism, chauvinism and anti-Soviet hysteria.

By May 1969 our Party again firmly declared that socialism develops according to common laws, including the leading role of the Communist Party in all areas of social life and the socialist state as the vehicle of the power of the working class and people, planned guidance of socialist economic development, and all-round co-operation with the USSR and other countries of the socialist system.

Question: The experience of the world Communist movement shows that incorrect relationships between the Party and the masses entail grave consequences for revolution and socialism. How, in the light of the lessons in Czechoslovakia, would you define the main principles of this relationship, assuring the stability of the socialist gains?

Answer: The experience of every contingent of the world Communist movement confirms that the ideological and organizational unity, the unity of action and high combat capacity of the vanguard, exemplifies a complex of varied relations and ties. Apart from the “revolutionary vanguard—working class and its allies” relationship, there are also relations inside the vanguard—the quality of the leading cadres and maturity of Party activists as a condition for sustained activity by the Party rank-and-file.

At the beginning of the 1930s, during the bolshevization of our Party following the 5th Congress, the new Gottwald leadership advanced the slogan, “Back to the Masses”. After April 1969 we revived this slogan, and the 14th Congress made its content more specific for the present stage.

What was its meaning in Gottwald’s time? To begin with, it was a reversal of the opportunist policy of the pre-Gottwald leadership, which had failed to make a realistic assessment of the general situation in the Party, the working class and the bourgeoisie, to understand the dialectics of the development of class forces and the positions of our allies, and did not chart a realistic political course to rally the people against the

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bourgeoisie—a course abreast of the actual conditions, the immediate and long-term interests and requirements of the masses.

The document, "Lessons of the Crisis in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz", showed the grave consequences of incorrectly analysing the situation, of distorted notions about the objective interests and requirements of further socialist developments and the ways and methods of resolving problems ripe and "over-ripe" in 1968.

The main thing is to understand the basic problems of the period correctly and to draw up action plans, a clear programme that will win over the masses. Ignoring objective requirements and the interests of the masses, and due to an inability to draw rapid conclusions at the first sign of negative phenomena the leadership's break with reality led to an accumulation of unsolved problems. As a result, the leadership of that time succumbed to many opportunist influences and tendencies, instead of tackling difficulties in an earnest, principled manner, and made opportunist concessions on the pretext of maintaining unity.

After January 1968 the Party leadership were not quick enough to see the difference between rectifying mistakes and eliminating shortcomings, and outright attacks on the basic revolutionary gains of socialism. The Right elements captured one position after another, and by means of false social demagoguery temporarily misled part of the working class and Party.

We saw what misleading the masses means. We saw that lack of principle, in whatever form, can bring society to the brink of disaster. We still remember how difficult it was to regain the confidence of the masses, although, at the same time, we also saw that sooner or later the masses recognize the revolutionary truth and understand the efforts of their vanguard, the Communist Party, for when the Party follows a correct political line and explains it patiently, it always gets the support of the masses.

The rich experience of the CPCz, which also helped it after 1969, shows that patient struggle for positions should be carried on continuously in all areas. The Party regards the masses not only as indispensable in carrying out its programme, as a vehicle of Party influence, but also as an important source of policy and ideas.

The slogan "Back to the Masses" is a permanent political slogan embodying the Marxist-Leninist principles of mass leadership—formulation of concrete tasks, framing of clear policies and forms of advance, step by step, suiting the changing conditions and preconditions, and observing the universal laws of the development of socialist society. To practice this slogan means to help the masses understand their objective

interests, combat all demagoguery, show the masses the way to achieve their aims, and avoid improvised movement with no clear orientation. This slogan our Party faithfully follows.

Such leadership of the masses requires a differentiated approach to the various classes and social groups, good use of the Party's varied organizational structure, diverse forms of work, consideration for the specific interests of social groups and their co-ordination with the interests of all society.

Every day we encounter important connections of different kinds between policy and the objective laws of development of socialist society. In political practice, taking daily decisions and defining the course of action, the false impression may arise that politics is completely independent and "free". But with each serious departure from the chosen course we become aware that social development, under socialism too, is an objective process with its own laws, highly sensitive to changing conditions. However, there are also specific rules in politics: social development is an uninterrupted process; it cannot be stopped, it cannot wait until we come to a decision, it continues, and if we lose control of the situation, it will become improvised. This, as I see it, gives rise to one of the major and most complicated tasks of the Party, its organs, and its responsible functionaries: not to surrender to improvisation, not to lose touch with the movement. We must see ahead as far as we can, but also resolve the urgent problems of the day, even the most acute. We must look for the right order, find the "main link" of the chain, and we must do our utmost in the process of political decision-making to commit as few mistakes as possible and, if they occur, to react at once.

The gravest weakness a revolutionary movement—a Communist Party—can suffer is inability to arouse, use, mobilize and build up the revolutionary energy of the masses. Leninism shows, and the practice of socialist society confirms, the decisive significance not only of the orientation of all Communist policy and of the leading bodies and Party activists in accomplishing this, but also of effective use of the appropriate means, among which the Party's politico-ideological and politico-organizational activity holds top priority.

Uninterrupted reproduction of the ideological and organizational guidance of the masses on the basis of a scientific programme based on Marxist-Leninist theory, is a continuous social task and one of the most difficult of all. Social processes, as we know, are the most complicated form of motion of objective reality. Conscious guidance requires extensive and profound revolutionary experience on the part of the vanguard of the working-class movement, the leading Party cadres, activists and

the Party members, the enrichment of the masses, the construction of a democratic society.

We regard this as the task that is to admit of no compromise, substantive, and that affects the masses, building a new policy must be based on the science (both natural and social) optimum existing in the top priority of politics.

Question: The problem of the people. One of the Marxist-Leninist socialist countries, the matter in the case of separate

Answer: The should be activity. The after the 1 basis of the But the question "Lessons of society was Soviet and relatively bourgeois some people educating should also

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the Party membership. But this is not all. Also required is continuous enrichment of the experience of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction of each country and of the international working-class and democratic movement.

We regard it as our supreme responsibility to follow a socialist policy, that is to administer the affairs of the whole of society in pursuance of the substantive, long-term interests of the working class and the working masses, building and developing a socialist and communist society. Our policy must repose on a critical analysis of practice and the achievements of science (but not science for the sake of science) which facilitate the optimum execution of society's crucial tasks. Among these our Party sets top priority on the economic tasks, which it regards as decisive for politics.

Question: Recently our journal held a round-table exchange on the problem of uniting scientific socialism with the social activity of the people. One of the aspects of the discussion concerned cultivation of Marxist-Leninist consciousness in the masses in the environment of socialist construction. As we know, special significance is attached to the matter in Czechoslovakia. Could you tell us how it is dealt with in the case of separate classes and social groups?

Answer: As I have said, practice has shown that still higher criteria should be set for ideological work as an essential sector of the Party's activity. This is required first and foremost by the positive tasks facing us after the 14th Congress—tasks which we can accomplish only on the basis of the people's conscious and inspired labour and political activity. *But the question has yet another side to it.* As evident from the document, "Lessons of the Crisis", one of the reasons for the crisis in our Party and society was that ever since the sixties bourgeois, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda and revisionism was afforded relatively fertile soil—principally in the outlook of the surviving petty-bourgeois strata and the remnants of capitalism in the consciousness of some people. This was a consequence of the often formalistic approach to educating working people in the socialist spirit. This is why the Party should always devote the utmost attention to this aspect.

Marxist-Leninism is not a religion, but a living, revolutionary teaching on the transformation of life and thinking; the decisive influence on the people's consciousness is their daily experience, their life in real socialist conditions. However, we must make this conclusion have practical value, and clarify it, and—especially in our ideological work—acquaint people with the future tasks and perspectives of socialist

society, showing their relation to the daily drive to increase labour efficiency in each sector. It was in this spirit that the 14th Congress stressed the need to fight for people's socialist consciousness. Consequently, we regard ideologico-educational work as sustained Party influence on society as a whole, enabling its citizens to gauge their opportunities in the socialist environment. Underrating ideological work—formalism and vagueness, and merely sporadic campaigns—opened up the way to bourgeois ideas. Nothing but systematic ideological activity, linked with mass political work, can yield good results.

However, it is not the purpose of our ideological work merely to alter the views of people, though this, too, is exceedingly important for their attitudes and conduct. Learning the scientific world outlook enables members of socialist society to grasp the complicated problems of the contemporary class-divided world independently, to see the more subtle aspects of imperialist policy, to approach political issues from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism, etc. But what we are also working for is that this assimilated scientific ideology should materialize in practical activity. The 14th Congress set us the task of helping "every honest person to understand and agree with the policy of the Party" and also to apply the maximum effort for its implementation, not only at his job, but also in all his other public activity.

Today, a year after the 14th Congress, I can safely say that we are coping with these tasks successfully. I can cite several examples of how the Party line, the policy of the 14th Congress, is supported by increasingly large masses of workers, members of agricultural co-operatives, the working intelligentsia, the youth and all other working people.

During the elections to the legislatures and local bodies of government, the National Front worked out development programmes for every town and village, every district, every region, and at meetings with their electors candidates consulted them on how to improve and carry out these projects. The efforts of the National Committees, helped by some 220 thousand members of their various commissions and another 300 thousand activists, have resulted in collective socialist pledges. The pledges are, in effect, detailed plans for the social development of the village, town, district or region concerned. And the initiative of the workers and farmers in fulfilling them is the foundation for an upswing in labour enthusiasm.

The public organizations, too, are becoming more active. The recent republican and federal congresses of the labour unions put the full weight of their support behind the 14th Party Congress line. A number of concrete measures were taken to assure fulfilment of the 14th Congress

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decisions by union bodies. A similar atmosphere reigned at the congress of agricultural co-operatives, which outlined ways of fulfilling the agricultural decisions of the CPCz Congress. Congresses of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, of journalists and of writers have taken place, and there will soon be congresses of the Socialist Youth League, the unions of art workers, etc. All these forums review the past period, sum up the results, analyze mistakes and shortcomings and, most important, search for new ways of rallying their members for work in the spirit of the 14th Congress decisions, to fulfil the tasks facing society.

Of late, the CPCz has been devoting more attention to the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members and deeper ideologico-political, economic and philosophical education of members of mass organizations, especially the labour unions and youth organizations. We are trying to avoid stereotypes and to find in our propaganda work the right balance between general and special knowledge. We are also aware that different means and methods should be used in politico-ideological education, taking account of the dissimilar degree of the socialist consciousness of different social groups and individuals.

At its February (1972) meeting the Central Committee discussed the country's economic problems in the broadest social context, including the economic education. Agricultural affairs were likewise examined in a broad context. We take guidance from the general line of the 14th Congress and strive to enhance the efficiency of our economy. To achieve our targets—a higher living standard, improvement of the social situation of various groups, consolidation of our entire socialist society—we must create important preconditions and marshal the required resources. The coming Central Committee meeting, to be devoted to ideological matters, will continue this line and consider the experience acquired, finalizing in the context of the Party's overall policy the perspectives and trends of ideological education.

To answer your question briefly, I may say that our experience shows that in the process of socialist construction the workers and other working people assimilate the main principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking guidance from them more and more consciously in their practical activity. The socialist consciousness which sufficed to cope with the aims of the preceding period, we are aware, must now be raised to a higher level. For example, nowadays people must know the regularities and ways of economic development, methods of management, the socialist integration measures, and the Party's entire policy. And since we want to relate the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, the importance of specialist knowledge and its

interconnection with people's political experience is now also greater. New criteria arise for people's moral standards and relationships, and the need for a more profound socialist patriotism and internationalist education is greater. The Party's politico-educational work will play its part in these objectives, combining the influence of education and propaganda with the practical experience of people at their jobs, in the public organizations, at home, etc.

Our Party's place of leadership in the socialist social system assures the right impact of the elements of that system on men's socialist consciousness. It is the main task of the Communist Party, whose leading role in this sphere grows more solid and broad in the process of socialist construction, to see that all links of the socialist social system function effectively and uninterruptedly, in different ways and yet to one and the same purpose.

4.

Speech and Co-
31 July

Mr. Chairman,

Our meeting, our commemoration of the termination of the second world war, the struggle against fascism, the healing, witness to the striving for a lasting peace, the ties of political friendship, the temptations of science, technology, Europe, but also the resources on the

As at many other times in the face of the known and the unknown, well as the realization of the utilization of the nuclear energy for mankind, the nuclear energy among states, which prompts questions of life and death, not those who

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4.

Speech at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Helsinki 31 July 1975

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Our meeting, unique in history in its significance, follows shortly after our commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the defeat of fascism and the termination of the Second World War in our frequently and severely tried continent. These postwar years, in which the wounds inflicted in the struggle against fascism and in the Second World War were painfully healing, witnessed a development fraught with contradictions: the striving for a lasting and equitable peace, but also tensions which eroded ties of political, economic and cultural co-operation. They witnessed the temptestuous development of creative potentials, forces of production, science, technology and culture, and general social advancement of Europe, but also the expenditure of incalculable material and human resources on the development of means of destruction.

As at many times in the past, Europe approached a crossroads. In the face of the knowledge of the danger inherent in existing developments, as well as the recognition that peace is an inevitable prerequisite for the utilization of the achievements of science and technology for a better life for mankind, there is an ever growing awareness that under conditions of the nuclear age there is no reasonable alternative for mutual relations among states than peaceful coexistence. Those were the major motives which prompted Europeans to set out in search of answers to the questions of how to promote and develop those things that we share and not those which divide us, how to eliminate wars from the life of society.

The fact that this kind of thinking can be set in motion against the background of those significant social and political processes is an expression of the maturity and farsightedness of the peoples and governments of the European states. After all, for the first time in history Europe has seized the opportunity of creating real conditions of peace,

security and peaceful co-operation—and this in spite of all the existing political, economic, philosophical and social differences.

This growing awareness of the possibility of living next to each other without the constant threat of war reflects not only a practical need of today's Europe but also a great hope for its future, as well as an example for others.

It is propitious that this kind of thinking has brought us here, to Helsinki, to take a step which so far is unique in European history: to agree in these deliberations by European states, the United States and Canada on principles for the peaceful development of our continent, and thus to strengthen the foundations of new international relations based on the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The positive changes in Europe have been greatly assisted by the favourable turn in the relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. We are convinced that the results of this European and world process will be beneficial to all the European states, small as well as large, socialist as well as non-socialist.

In this long-term endeavour of the European nations, the community of socialist states, of which Czechoslovakia is a firm part, is a significant and ever stronger factor. We especially appreciate the role played in the negotiations on the holding of this conference by the peace policy of the Soviet Union. At the same time, we also value the contribution of those realistically thinking forces and trends, as well as of the public figures in western Europe, the United States of America and Canada, that are striving for understanding among the European states.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, too, has had its share in this joint undertaking. The people of our country, gravely affected by the horrors and suffering of the many armed conflicts in Europe, regard the policy of peace and co-operation among nations as the mainstay of our foreign policy. This has also been embodied in the Constitution of our socialist state in the words:

"We want to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples of the world, to contribute to peaceful coexistence and to good relations among states with different social systems."

It is from these principles that we have always proceeded also in our bilateral relations. Recently, they found a specific application in the definitive settlement of bilateral relations with our neighbours, which have helped to create an important stabilizing factor, contrasting so sharply with the prewar history of incessant conflicts and tensions, particularly in central Europe.

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History shows that countless aggressions in Europe have been connected with the abuse of power, with violence and oppression. The Munich *diktat*, the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the invasion of Poland, France and Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and other European countries, all the horrors and victims of the Second World War bear this out. Therefore, the safeguarding of peace and security requires that these methods be rejected and eliminated from relations between European states. It is from this vantage point that we see the significance of this conference, particularly the fact that it formulates and reaffirms the basic principles which should govern relations between European states, on the basis of the recognition of the territorial and political realities that has been agreed here. The unanimous adoption of these principles by this conference we therefore regard as a success for the inhabitants of our continent, who long for peace and real security.

An important factor in stabilizing peaceful relations between states which continues to grow in significance is mutually advantageous economic co-operation. Its need stems from the tempestuous upsurge of the forces of production, based on the advance of science and technology, and from the scope and complexity of problems, as well as from the necessity to protect the human environment. Progress in this sphere calls for an effective international division of labour and the pooling of the means and resources of many states. Even if the citizens of our country can live in security, protected against economic upheavals, we fully share the view that the all-round development of such co-operation is certainly an unexhausted source of new possibilities for economic advancement. Such co-operation, however, must be approached from the premise of mutual advantage and respect for the legitimate interests of all the participating states. This applies both to the continued development of mutual trade and to the ever broader utilization of progressive forms of economic, scientific and technological co-operation, as well as co-operation in the sphere of production.

In our opinion, a significant element in the all-round development of man in conditions of peace is the widest possible access to the genuine cultural values of mankind. We are therefore in favour of the broadest possible mutual inspiration through cultural goals. We also favour an exchange of ideas and information which serve peaceful understanding and all-round human development, in addition to a broad exchange of persons conducive to down to earth, generally useful and beneficial co-operation and to a greater knowledge of each other. We are already developing such effective, creative co-operation in many fields with a number of countries in all continents. We are establishing ever broader

contacts between social organizations, youth, and representatives of science, culture and education, as well as in the fields of sport and tourism. We are firmly convinced that the more reliable the safeguards of peace and security, the more favourable will be the possibilities of a continued expansion of these contacts in other spheres also.

However, the development and protection of the highest human values, the noble principles of peace and friendship among nations, require at the same time that all of us be implacable in regard to the propaganda of hatred, aggression, militarism and violence, and the advocacy of racial or ethnic superiority—in fact, all those tendencies which are at variance both with the United Nations Charter and the generally recognized principles of humanism and ethics.

The results of the first Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are establishing favourable preconditions for a sound and mutually beneficial development of relations among all the participating states on the principles of peaceful coexistence and co-operation.

Our common task now will consist in translating those principles into action through concrete steps and measures; through the constant deepening and expansion of détente; through efforts aimed at the liquidation of existing as well as potential seed-beds of the danger of war; through the just settlement of international conflicts, while recognizing unequivocally and respecting the right of every nation to independence; by creating a system of collective security as well as through détente in the military sphere, and curtailment of the hectic arms race that would involve all kinds and types of weapons and armaments, especially nuclear weapons, and result in general and complete disarmament.

We believe that these efforts will eventually create such an international climate and that security and faith in a peaceful future will prevail and will be enjoyed by all countries and peoples.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, our people, our government, will do their utmost to implement these noble objectives in order to ensure that our next deliberations will advance even farther along the road to the definitive safeguarding of the peace and security of nations.

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Delegates!

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Report on the activities of the Party and the development of society since the 15th Congress of the CPCz, delivered at the 16th Congress of the CPCz

6 April 1981

Excerpts

Delegates! Comrades!

At the request of the Central Committee I am submitting to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the *Report on the Fulfilment of the Resolutions of the 15th Congress and on the Tasks for the Coming Period*. The entire pre-Congress campaign, the creative, critical and self-critical atmosphere of the annual membership meetings, the Party conferences, and Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, and the broad political and working activity of the people have created the necessary preconditions for our deliberations. We are convinced that the 16th Congress will become a significant milestone on the road of the continued building of a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

Our Congress is meeting on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The creation of a Marxist-Leninist Party gave birth to the revolutionary vanguard of the Czechoslovak proletariat, which proved to be the most progressive political force in Czechoslovak history, in the history of our nations. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party were our peoples able to gain victory over the bourgeoisie and to arrive at our socialist present. . . .

Comrades!

May I now pass on to an appraisal of the activities of the Central Committee and of the entire Party during the period since the 15th Congress, to a description of the level of social development achieved and to the programme for the years to come.

The firm basis of the Party's entire policy, on which we have relied during recent years, is the general line of building a developed socialist society adopted by the 14th Congress and further elaborated by the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This line represents a comprehensive, long-range Marxist-Leninist programme for the political, economic, social and spiritual development of our society, a programme for the domestic and foreign policy of our state. It forms an integral part of the common endeavour of the fraternal socialist countries.

All the salient tasks stipulated by the 15th Congress were reviewed and elaborated by sessions of the Central Committee and its organs, to ensure that they were in keeping with concrete conditions and needs. In the period between our Congresses the Central Committee met nineteen times.

At each Central Committee session we devoted our attention to the activity of the Party, to the strengthening of its unity and capability for action, and to the application of Leninist methods and forms of work. We were concerned with deepening socialist democracy and with improving the work of the socialist state, its organs and the National Front organizations, and with improving the quality of management in all spheres of social life.

The Central Committee systematically followed the fulfilment of the *Guidelines for Economic and Social Development during individual years of the Sixth Five-year Plan*. It dealt comprehensively with such important sectors as living standards, engineering, metallurgy, the building industry, agriculture, trade and services, and took the necessary politico-organizational measures. In doing so, it inevitably had also to respect the new realities, both of an objective as well as of a subjective nature, and had to decide on modifications in the annual plans in accordance with concrete conditions and the real situation.

We dealt comprehensively with the tasks of ideological and politico-educational work, of raising the level of education and of promoting socialist culture. The Central Committee paid constant attention to problems of international policy and to the defence and security of the state.

A significant role was played by the 11th session of the Central Committee in March 1978, at which we made an appraisal of the work carried out during the two years after the 15th Congress. This brought confirmation of the importance of routine control, of the timely analysis of emerging problems and of mobilizing the forces of the Party and society for their solution.

The deliberations of the Central Committee and its Presidium and Secretariat were marked by frankness and a principled, critical and self-critical approach. Proceeding from the principle of democratic centralism, the Central Committee applied the methods of a critical and demanding approach also to Party organs in regions and districts as well as to Party branches.

In the course of the past five years the Czechoslovak people, led by the Communist Party, has successfully carried on the building of socialism, augmenting the material and intellectual wealth of our homeland and reinforcing the socialist system. Although the overall dynamism of economic expansion was slower than envisaged by the Sixth Five-year Plan, our economy recorded further strides.

Despite more difficult internal as well as external economic conditions since the 15th Congress, industrial and building output grew by one quarter during the Sixth Five-year Plan. The structural changes in our economy continued. The production of the engineering industry went up by 36.5 per cent in this period. Progress was achieved in computer technology production. We built an engineering base for nuclear power generation. Priority was also given to additional progressive branches. In harmony with the resolutions of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia there was a speedier growth of production based on domestic raw material sources, especially in the wood-processing and glass industries, in ceramics and porcelain manufacture.

Significant changes took place in the structure of the fuel and power base. New capacities for the mining of 15 million tons of coal annually were built. A total of 4300 MW of new power generation output, including 880 MW from atomic sources, were put into operation. This is the highest five-year increment of power generating capacities ever achieved. We took a successful part in that great joint project of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)—the buildings of the Soyuz gas pipeline.

Important capacities in the chemical and metallurgical industries, engineering, building materials production, consumer goods and food-processing industries have been built and extended. The 15th Congress directive concerning the construction of the Prague Underground was

fulfilled. Prague has today over 20 kilometres of fine, modern, underground railway. The Prague-Brno-Bratislava motorway was opened. The construction and extensive reconstruction of the transport network and of transport facilities continued.

Much was done for the urban development of Prague and Bratislava. Special attention was given to the Northern Bohemia region, but much was created for the benefit of people in every region and district. Our towns and villages are prettier.

Also, this Palace of Culture, in which our Congress is taking place, was built between the 15th and 16th Congress. It is our firm belief that Prague has long deserved such a fitting, modern, cultural centre. It is yet another monumental contemporary building in which all our citizens can take pride.

In agriculture, too, not inconsiderable tasks were fulfilled in the period under review. We focussed our attention on the better utilization of the hitherto quite untapped resources of large-scale socialist agriculture in order to ensure our self-sufficiency in foodstuffs which can be produced in our conditions. This involves an important economic but also socio-political stabilizing factor. The challenging nature of this task stems, among other things, from the small *per capita* area of agricultural land.

Despite several climatically unfavourable years, agricultural output increased by 9 per cent as against the Fifth Five-year Plan. In the course of the Sixth Five-year Plan we produced a total of 50.3 million tons of grain. This is 3.5 million tons in excess of the Fifth Five-year Plan period output. In livestock output the rising trend of previous Five-year Plan periods continued.

There was a marked deepening of the process of concentration and specialization as well as continuing industrialization of farm production. The production base of agriculture was reinforced by new farm equipment and by the construction of new facilities. Thousands of specialists with secondary and university-level education entered co-operative and state farms. Concurrently with the changes in the production base of agriculture and with the rise in the level of skills of the labour force, a progressive change is taking place in the nature of the work and life in our villages.

The seventies also saw great progress in the deepening of our participation in socialist economic integration. Our country is participating in the development of selected raw material branches in the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in the expanding specialization of production and industrial co-operation in the most varied branches.

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An exceptional role is played in this respect by the long-range programme of production specialization and industrial co-operation between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union in the period up to 1990. All-embracing co-operation with the Soviet Union makes possible the uninterrupted expansion of our national economy and the solution of vitally important questions of scientific and technical development. It helps us to acquire top technology, raw materials, other materials and energy. It also assures a favourable and stable market for our products. This co-operation enables us to soften the unfavourable impact on our economy of the crisis in the capitalist world.

The creation of the national income and the growth of labour productivity is a comprehensive indicator of the way in which we worked, managed the economy and created the resources for the expansion of the national economy and for raising the standard of living. In 1980, the national income reached a total of 454,000 million crowns, which is 20 per cent more than in 1975. It is more than half as large again in comparison with 1970. These are not bad results, but we did not reach the growth rates of the national income planned for the 1976 to 1980 period.

The implementation of the Sixth Five-year Plan took place under very difficult and complicated conditions. It was a period which placed before us obstacles and problems for which, as it turned out, our economy had not been fully prepared. There was an accelerated growth in the prices of imported raw materials, energy, other materials and foodstuffs. There was intensified discrimination against Czechoslovakia by the capitalist world and stiffer competition on world markets. This naturally had a negative influence on the fulfilment of our economic and social programme.

One of the principal causes of our failure to attain all the stipulated tasks is the fact that despite certain progress we did not succeed in enforcing the required upturn in the implementation of the long-range strategic line aimed at raising the effectiveness of production, economy and quality of all work, at effective and realistic implementation of capital construction, at putting science and research into practice. To achieve this upturn is the task facing us with all urgency. This is also a fundamental prerequisite for securing a high living standard for the people.

Under the Sixth Five-year plan we also continued to implement the social programme adopted by the 14th Congress, although the pace and scope of its implementation had to be adapted to available sources. The

social certainties have been further strengthened and the living conditions of the population have improved. There has been a rise in both personal and social consumption. Households with per capita incomes of over 10,000 crowns a year now represent 84 per cent. The average nominal monthly wages of a worker in the socialist sector, not including agricultural co-operatives, amount to 2643 crowns, which is 339 crowns more than in 1975. The comparable remuneration of co-operative farmers has reached the level of average incomes of employees in other branches of the national economy.

Despite various shortages and fluctuations the home market developed favourably and was more plentiful. Compared with 1975, the sale of industrial goods in 1980 increased by 21.2 per cent, of foodstuffs by 19 per cent, including meat and meat products, the sale of which increased by 12.6 per cent. As for the calorific value and quality of food, Czechoslovakia ranks among the first countries in the world.

We continued with a vast housing programme. In the five-year period some 647,100 new dwelling units with modern equipment have been built, which brings the total number of new dwelling units since 1970 to a total of 1,262,300. During the last ten years practically every fourth family has moved into a new flat.

In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic all-round care for children, mothers and young married couples is guaranteed. This care has been steadily improving also during recent years. In comparison with 1975, funds covering paid maternity leave, child benefits and loans to newly-married couples have been raised by 26.4 per cent. We have also made further strides towards raising pensions and securing a carefree old age for pensioners, including retired co-operative farmers. To cover sickness insurance, old-age and social security, and help to families with children, our society spent a total of 68,400 million crowns, which is almost a third more than in 1975.

Construction and modernization of universities, secondary schools, elementary and nursery schools, crèches, sports and cultural institutions also continued. The total expenditure in 1980 on school, culture, public health and social security amounted to one quarter of the national income.

Works canteens have also been given better attention. Now they cater for more than 42 per cent of the working population. To these we must add roughly 70 per cent of children, pupils and students, who take their meals in school canteens.

I could mention a number of data illustrating the all-round care of man in our socialist society. The living standard attained is considerable.

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Comrades

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In this connection it is important to say that in this country—unlike the capitalist countries, even the most developed ones—the needs of the population are satisfied and their social certainties guaranteed for all sections of society.

For reasons I have already stated, the implementation of the social programme was not an easy task, particularly in the last few years. Some plans had to be simplified, others abandoned. In order to resolve certain economic problems of the day, we had to adopt certain adjustments of retail prices. But in principle we adhered to the guideline adopted by the 15th Congress—i.e. to preserve the stability of the general level of retail prices of those goods that are vitally important for the population.

The results of our social policy are all the more remarkable in view of the fact that they have been reached at a time when in the capitalist world the general crisis is deepening, inflation, unemployment, social insecurity and impoverishment of the working masses is rampant, and when imperialism has sharpened international relations and brought its discrimination policy against the countries of the socialist community to a head.

Comrades!

The 15th Congress set us no negligible tasks—to further improve the political system of socialism, to deepen socialist democracy, to promote education and culture, to ensure the security of the state and to strengthen the international position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. While implementing them we always had in mind the consolidation of the power of the working people; the growth of the leading role of the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; the strengthening of the unity among the working class, the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia; the deepening of the political and moral unity of our nations and nationalities and the unity of all the people of Czechoslovakia.

In its struggle for the implementation of the Party line the working class has matured and gathered new experiences. By its conscious work and political activity it proves to be the real manager of the country. In this way, Karl Marx's words that the working class is the embodiment of the social mind and heart of all the working people come true. It is from the ranks of the working class that the most dedicated and self-sacrificing workers come. Over and over again the working class comes to realize that its position in society in the course of socialist transformation is

inseparably connected with the existence and strengthening of the leading role of its vanguard—the Communist Party. Our workers are, therefore, well aware of the fact that every attack against the Communist Party is directed against the working class and its basic interests, against the interests of the working people.

The all-embracing development of our society after the 15th Congress has further deepened the process of rapprochement among the working class, the co-operative farmers and the intelligentsia. The unity and fraternal co-operation of the Czech and Slovak nations and all the nationalities in our homeland have been strengthened. We can be justifiably proud to say that the task of overcoming the historical differences in the economic, political and cultural conditions of our nations has in principle been fulfilled. In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, backward areas have disappeared. All this forms the firm, socio-political basis of our socialist social system and of our socialist statehood.

While implementing the guidelines of the 15th Congress, the National Front, too, has passed through a great political school. The organizations grouped in the National Front have significantly contributed to the fact that the widest sections of the people identify themselves with our Party policy and work selflessly for its implementation.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Union of Youth, the Czechoslovak Union of Women, the Union of Co-operative Farmers, the Czechoslovak Union for Physical Education, the organization of our co-operatives, the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, the Union of Anti-fascist Fighters and other social and special-interest organizations have all taken an active part in revealing the creative initiative of their members, and have considerably assisted in the fulfilment of the tasks of the Sixth Five-year Plan and of the National Front election programmes. Each of them has an important specific mission. We can no longer imagine our social life without them. What praiseworthy work is being done, for example, by the Union for the Co-operation with the Army, the Czechoslovak Red Cross, the Unions of Firemen, Hunters, Beekeepers, Amateur Gardeners, Domestic Animal Keepers; what a humane mission is fulfilled by the Union of Invalids. We could also mention other organizations. All of them create considerable values. In their activities, personal hobbies and the citizens' needs are combined with social interests. Their activities have contributed towards deepening the unity of the Party and the people, towards the socialist education of the working people, towards the strengthening of their pride in being citizens of their socialist homeland.

We also highly value the common socialist endeavours of the Czechoslovak People's Freedom Party.

During the period of the war, a great amount of work was done by the organs of the state, the National Assembly and the people, which contributed to the development of important laws and the removal of uncertainties.

Very active also in the administration—hundreds of thousands of people have participated significantly in the improvement of the country, particularly in the improvement of their environment.

The National Front, the Ministry of the Interior, the courts, the police, the high sense of responsibility of the various antisocialist organizations.

The fact that the country is at peace is also due to the efforts of the National Front.

The Central Committee has paid attention to the progress, the whole of the country, the protector of order, the Warsaw Pact, the fulfilment of their tasks.

It is indisputable that the Party has led the people under the leadership of the resolution, focussed its mission, Marxism-Leninism, the consciousness of the people may understand the Proceedings of the 13th Congress.

We also highly appreciate the considerable contribution to our common socialist endeavour made by the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Party of Slovak Renascence and the Freedom Party.

During the period for which we are here accounting to the Congress, a great amount of work has been done by the representative and executive organs of the state. By their legislative and control activities, the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils have contributed to the development of socialist democracy. The enactment of important laws has confirmed the rights of the citizens and their social certainties.

Very active also have been the territorial organs of state power and administration—the National Committees. Through their medium hundreds of thousands of citizens have taken part in the management of their communities, districts and regions. The National Committees have participated significantly in the economic, social and cultural development of the country. On the basis of voluntary work by the citizens, particularly in the "Z" drive, they helped to build important facilities, improve their environment and embellish our towns and villages.

The National Security Corps and other sections of the Ministry of the Interior, the court organs and the Prosecution also did their duties with a high sense of responsibility. These organs protect our society from various antisocial and criminal elements.

The fact that our citizens can work and use the fruits of their labour in peace is also due to these organs.

The Central Committee and the socialist state have devoted much attention to the Czechoslovak People's Army. We can assure the Congress, the whole Party and all our people that our army is a reliable protector of our borders and a firm link in the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states. Our People's Militias, who have conscientiously fulfilled their tasks, also deserve our commendation.

It is indisputable that it is the ideological, political education activity of the Party which is responsible for all the successes achieved by our people under the leadership of the Communist Party. In conformity with the resolution passed by the 15th Congress, the Central Committee has focussed its main attention on strengthening the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the life of society and on the growth of the socialist consciousness of the working people, so that every citizen of this country may understand and actively support the principles of our Party policy. Proceeding from the *Lessons Drawn from the Crisis in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz*, we have been waging a consistent struggle

against anti-Communism and the various forms of bourgeois ideology, revisionism and rightist opportunism.

On the whole, good results have been reached in the development of the education system. In the vigorous stream of cultural and artistic activities the cultural and political Party line finds its fulfilment. New artistic values have been added to the rich fund of Czechoslovak culture.

We can say without exaggeration that the majority of our people connect their lives quintessentially with Socialism. They are manifesting their attitude to our system, to the policy of the Party, and their patriotism by self-sacrificing, honest work and civic commitment.

In everything we have done we have not only been thinking of our internal problems, but we have always kept in mind the struggle that, on an international scale, the socialist countries and the national liberation and democratic forces are waging against imperialism for peace and social progress.

The development of our socialist society and our active part in the struggle for peace and détente—for the interests of Socialism, of social progress and freedom of nations—have further enhanced the authority of socialist Czechoslovakia and fortified its international position.

Comrades!

The results attained in the process of implementation of the 15th Congress line, which we are reviewing today, are not inconsiderable. There is not a single sphere in which we have not made strides.

In appraising the work done we must emphasize the role of Communists, of local branches and organs of the Party.

We have focussed our attention on the Party, perfected its activities and given special care to the growth of the activity of the Communists. During recent years the Party has passed through a positive development, improving the quality of its ranks and strengthening its leading role in society. The Central Control and Auditing Commission also had its share in this development.

The whole pre-Congress period has shown that the Party is approaching its 16th Congress ideologically and organizationally firm, united, capable of action and linked with the people.

An overall view of the work done leads us to the conclusion that the road along which we have been travelling in the recent past was the right one.

We present to the Congress this positive balance-sheet well aware of the fact that our efforts were also fraught with numerous shortcomings and difficulties, which slowed down our advance, and that not in all

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cases have the stipulated objectives been attained. The Central Committee did not ignore the problems, did not conceal the shortcomings, and adopted necessary measures for their solution. But it must be said that these measures have not always been implemented and that not everywhere have disciplinary and personnel consequences been drawn from the failure to implement them.

We say quite frankly that the Party, the Communists and the Party branches have been the motive power of what is going on in society. This, however, does not mean that it applies to every Party branch or to all its members, and that all of them have with the same consistency and self-sacrifice fought for the Party resolutions against various abuses which weaken our strength, such as inertia, indolence, formalism, indifference, poor management, and anachronism in people's minds. All this was openly and responsibly discussed at annual membership meetings, at District and Regional Conferences and at the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia. This constructive, principled approach, typical of a Marxist-Leninist Party, is highly commended by the Central Committee.

Comrades!

In spite of many difficulties and obstacles, which had to be overcome in the process of implementing our programme, we can state with full confidence that the Party and the people have been working with self-sacrifice, and that the long-term guideline of building a developed socialist society in our homeland, adopted by the 14th Congress and elaborated by the 15th Congress, has proved to be correct and realistic in its practical application. The working people see in it a programme corresponding to their vital interests, a programme ensuring the certainties, security and sovereignty of our country in the family of the socialist community.

It was not necessary to change anything in this political line and nothing has deflected us from it. The general line of building a developed socialist society retains its validity. Our immediate task is its elaboration and concretisation for the years to come.

The material resources and the social and spiritual forces that we have accumulated in the course of socialist construction and further augmented in the period since the 15th Congress form a reliable basis for the continued development of our society. The crux of the matter is to consolidate this basis and to use it in the most effective way. Let us not plan for planning's sake; let us not organize production for production's sake; let everything we do, all our efforts to develop socialism and make

our homeland a flourishing country, be directed to the benefit of the working people. The well-being of man is and remains the highest purpose of our efforts.

It is from this basic goal that we proceeded in drawing up the conception of the *Principal Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the 1981-1985 period*. In the Seventh Five-year Plan we want to ensure the proportional development of our national economy, to further strengthen and modernize the material-technical base of our country, to attain a wider application of science and technology in production and, accordingly, to improve the material and cultural living standard of the people. We shall further strengthen the ties between the working class, the co-operative farmers and the intelligentsia, join firmly together our nations and nationalities, increase our share in deepening socialist economic integration, and thus contribute significantly to the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

However, the goals we set ourselves cannot be based solely on our wishes. We must proceed from what we have and it is imperative to make the most effective and economical use of it. In the first place, we must concentrate our means on what can help resolve our economic problems, on what is important for the development of man and society. At the same time, we must constantly take into account the development of the international situation and its impact on our economy. The years we are entering hold quite a few problems in store for us. The imperialists' policy reflecting the deepening general crises of the capitalist system, involves serious dangers. To thwart hazardous plans entails and will no doubt also in future entail enormous effort and no small financial resources.

The ensurance of the aims stipulated in the Seventh Five-year Plan requires a far greater consistency in the application of our long-range economic strategy of efficiency of production and high quality work. The basic principles of this strategy are as follows: moving the economy on the path of intensive development, effective structural changes in the economy, a rational use of production potential, strict avoidance of waste and the valorization of all resources, improvement of management, a wide development of worker initiative, and deeper participation by our economy in socialist economic integration and the international division of labour.

The existing results confirm that certain steps and valuable experiences in this direction have already been made, but in view of the needs there is no room for self-satisfaction. Indeed, we must proceed in a more determined way.

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The draft of the Seventh Five-year Plan anticipates a growth in the national income of 14-16 per cent. Even with a slowed-down rate of growth in the national income this is not an inconsiderable task. Industrial production in the Seventh Five-year Plan is to rise by 18-20 per cent and agricultural output by roughly 10 per cent.

The planned development rates of the national economy must be attained by wide-ranging intensification, a rise in labour productivity, lower energy and material consumption and a higher exploitation of fixed assets. Raw-materials, material, fuel and energy resources, both domestic and imported, remain at the level reached at the end of the Sixth Five-year Plan. This means that from each invested crown, each kilogram of metal, crude oil, cement and each hectare of land we must get more products and farming produce, and that we must attain a higher national income with the existing working and material resources.

The determining factor of intensification and the most powerful source of growth in the productivity of social labour is science and technological progress. The implementation of scientific and technical progress is truly a revolutionary task facing all our society. Only through implementing science and technology is it possible to develop the most advanced branches—electronics and microelectronics, complex mechanization and automation, to eliminate hard physical labour, to spread advanced technologies, to improve the management and organization of work. The solution of these tasks—we are deeply convinced—will become the cause of pride and civic honour for our researchers, designers and all the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

Both the Federal Government and National Governments, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and all who are responsible for the implementation of scientific and technical progress should see that the scientific research base is conceptually managed in line with the needs of social practice. We must set demanding, specific tasks for it, so that the creative efforts of scientists and researchers are not channelled according to their individual interests only, but according to the requirements and needs of society. Decisive measures must be taken to increase the concentration of research and development capacities, not to tolerate the fragmentation of forces and means, and to concentrate them on vital areas of research, development and introduction of new manufactures. It is time to realize that the closest possible integration of science and production is one of the most important requirements of the present time. We must also put an end to the situation in which ministries and production units tolerate the fact that many of our enterprises and

production units are not phasing the achievements of science and technology into production, even though their contribution to our national economy is quite evident. We must see that newly developed products meeting the criteria of low material and energy intensity and high utility value are produced promptly and in sufficient quantities, for both the domestic market and export. We must achieve a state when scientific and technical development becomes the axis of our national economic plans. The material motivation of scientists and researchers should be consistently combined with a high level of moral dedication to the support and popularization of anything which can make an extraordinary contribution to society. . . .

External economic relations represent an integral part of our economic policy. A broader participation by the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labour is an objective necessity. The basis of this process is provided first of all by an all-round development of mutually advantageous trade, economic, scientific and technical relations within the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance—by increasing our participation in socialist economic integration. An essential role is played by our all-embracing co-operation with the Soviet Union. The fulfilment of the integration objectives embodied in the programme of industrial co-operation and production specialization between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in the period up to 1900 must be given special attention at all levels of management, in the respective ministries, production units and enterprises. It is also necessary to improve existing forms and to search for new possibilities of developing direct contacts with the corresponding organizations in the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

We shall strive for a further expansion of mutually advantageous trade relations and long-term technical and industrial co-operation with the developing countries and, within our possibilities, we shall contribute to the consolidation of their economic and political independence.

Economic contacts with developed capitalist countries will be further promoted according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit. It is on this basis that we want to extend further forms of economic, scientific and technical co-operation. The uneven development and the contradictions in the world capitalist system will necessarily lead to a further sharpening of the struggle for raw materials and markets. We must expect even greater competition, various barriers in the commercial-political sphere and discrimination. These are further reasons why it is

necessary to increase the national economy, to lower the prices of all foreign goods, particularly of those of particular importance—such as machinery, equipment and utilities. A major change in the whole working method, capital in-

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necessary to increase the export competitiveness of the Czechoslovak economy, to lower its import intensity and to use economically and rationally all foreign exchange reserves. Our industry—engineering in particular—must provide goods of high technical and economic specifications and utility value, as well as a high-quality service. This requires a major change in the thinking and attitudes of executive personnel and whole working teams in production, scientific and technical development, capital investment construction and foreign trade.

To cope successfully with the demanding tasks in the national economy we must improve the quality of import and export activities in foreign trade. Foreign trade organizations must co-operate closely with production, assume far more actively the role of initiating customer and supplier, and prevent counter-exports and imports.

Comrades!

All our efforts are directed towards meeting the needs of man, to his all-round development. Care for people's material and cultural standards stems from the very substance of the socialist system. The development and improvement of living standards do not, however, depend on subjective wishes but on the creation of wealth. No society can distribute more than it produces. We cannot live on capital for any length of time and we do not want to and will not live on credit. The only way is to intensify the creation of resources. What we create must be sensibly distributed and used in such a way as to purposefully ensure, simultaneously with the meeting of people's needs, an expansion of the national economy, the regeneration of the whole of social life, and the defence of the country.

With the building of socialism and its development, with the gradual satisfaction of the growing needs of our society, with the higher requirements and demands of our people, an orientation towards the qualitative aspects of production as well as of living standards logically asserts itself. This orientation does not involve a mere growth in material consumption. It also includes the strengthening of social certainties, the promotion of education and culture, public health-care, the protection of families—of mother and child, a constant improvement in the working and living environment, the establishment of comradely relations in work teams and among citizens, and the moulding of a socialist way of life.

These are the aspects guiding us in formulating the development of living standards in the forthcoming period. We proceed from the existing possibilities of our national economy. Remuneration for work must be

most closely tied to growth in productivity, efficiency, economy and quality of work. We must more resolutely overcome any tendencies to egalitarianism and various fallacious "social" attitudes towards remuneration.

The living standard of every worker should correspond to his contribution towards the development of society. It is no secret that there are people who live at the expense of society—who are paid not for work but for going to work. We must resolutely oppose all types of parasitism and speculation.

The trend in real cash incomes is undoubtedly affected by pricing policy. Retail price under socialism must not only fulfil its economic function, but it must also conform with the objectives of social policy. We have already said that our national economy is sensitive to economic developments in the world. A permanent rise in prices and costs of acquiring raw materials, energy, other materials and food causes increased production costs in the processing industry. This must be reflected, to the appropriate extent, in wholesale prices, so that they can exert their influence on reducing manufacturing consumption. We shall continue to ensure that any rise in wholesale prices is not uncontrollably shifted to retail prices.

The development of retail prices will depend, in great measure, on how we are going to work and increase labour productivity, to what extent we are going to succeed in enforcing efficiency, quality and economy. Nobody can afford for any length of time to sell goods on the home market below the prices which we pay for their purchases abroad and for their production at home. Pricing policy must continue to be firmly directed, under strict state control; it must be in line with wage and social policies and, at the same time, it must influence the development of personal consumption in a desirable direction, and prevent wastage.

We anticipate that the sale of industrial goods will increase at a faster pace than the sale of foodstuffs; that demand will rise for higher quality and technically more perfect products. This places higher demands on manufacturers of both consumer goods and food products, but also on domestic trade organizations to make them respond more actively to people's needs and to ensure a consistently fluent flow of supplies. Production and trade are co-responsible for the manufacture and supply to the market of goods in the required range, quality and price categories, in keeping with consumer demands. In this sense, the respective ministries, producer and agricultural co-operatives, and local economic enterprises must adopt the essential measures.

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A significant mission of socialist trade is to protect the interests of consumers and guarantee their rights *vis-à-vis* the manufacturers. This must be more consistently ensured by the trade in conjunction with the National Committees. Special attention must be paid to the development and quality of services. Every responsible official must realize that in his sector it is not only an economic issue but also a highly political one. It is according to their work and their behaviour towards people that the citizens pass judgement—justly or unjustly—on our social system.

Social consumption will rise even with more limited means. It will continue to be a significant part of our social policy in the care for families with children and for the old and disabled. Apart from the means provided by the state, the share of enterprises, plants and co-operatives in expanding the capacities of amenities for children and social care services must be increased. To this end, the National Committee's facilities should be used more effectively.

In housing construction we are facing the considerable task of building 550,000 new dwelling units and of modernizing 40-50 thousand dwelling units under socialist ownership. The Federal as well as the National Governments, the Ministries of Construction and National Committees must resolutely deal with a protracted problem, i.e. the failure to oversee complex housing construction, and ensure that together with the construction of housing estates, civic amenities and technical facilities are built as well.

Our public health-care will be expanded. The respective bodies must pay even greater attention to the improvement of preventive, diagnostic, curative and rehabilitation care and to the effectiveness of hygienic and anti-epidemic measures. People know that to work in the health service is not easy; that it requires great patience, understanding and self-sacrifice. Our citizens are, however, justly annoyed by various unnecessary shortcomings caused by bad organization or lack of responsibility. The Governments, Ministries of Health and pharmaceutical industry must ensure a continuous supply of medicaments and sanitary materials.

Environmental protection is regarded as an integral part of the raising of living standards. This includes purposeful care of woodland and the limitation of industrial pollution. Rising water consumption demands that great attention be paid to the development and protection of sources of water. Further deterioration in the present water pollution must be prevented. The responsible bodies must carry out stricter control and take measures against those who arbitrarily or by gross negligence cause harm to the environment. The preservation of the basic

values of the environment, natural wealth and the beauty spots of our country, is the duty of all responsible organs—the common cause of all our people.

Comrades!

In keeping with the resolutions of the 15th Congress of our Party the Central Committee and the Federal Government have adopted *Comprehensive Measures to Improve the Planning and Management of the National Economy*. Their main aims are to carry through an intensification of the national economy, a more resolute application of the results of the scientific and technical revolution, a more effective stimulation of efficient and quality work, and the establishment of the most favourable conditions for the all-round creative activity of people. This is the way to fuller use of the advantages of the socialist economy, to the achievement of the best possible national economic results in the interests of material and cultural standards.

The implementation of the *Comprehensive Measures* requires profound changes in methods of management as well as in people's minds. Priority must be given to improving planning as the principal management link of the national economy, and to the consolidation of the role of the plan at all levels on the basis of a consistent application of democratic centralism in the process of drawing up and implementing the plan. The growth of the national economy brings about much more diversified and complex relations, and scientific and technical progress places qualitatively new requirements on economic management. We must frankly admit that planning has not kept pace with these changes. Stricter discipline must be introduced into planning, the quality of the plan must be improved and the individual economic activities must be better harmonized.

The executive and organizational activities of governmental and planning bodies, ministries and other central bodies, production economic units, enterprises and National Committees must be subordinated to the much more demanding requirements placed on planning. The planning bodies face an important task—to improve the perspective character of planning and to prepare a long-term prognosis for our economy. This must serve as the basis for drawing up five-year plans, which we regard as the principal instruments for implementing the Party's economic and social policy. It will be very important to fix the correct priorities of tasks and to define the most effective way of fulfilling them. An urgent task of industrial ministries, in co-operation with production economic units, is to complete the strengthening of the role of

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PLATE 1. With father, grandmother and sisters at the start of World War I.

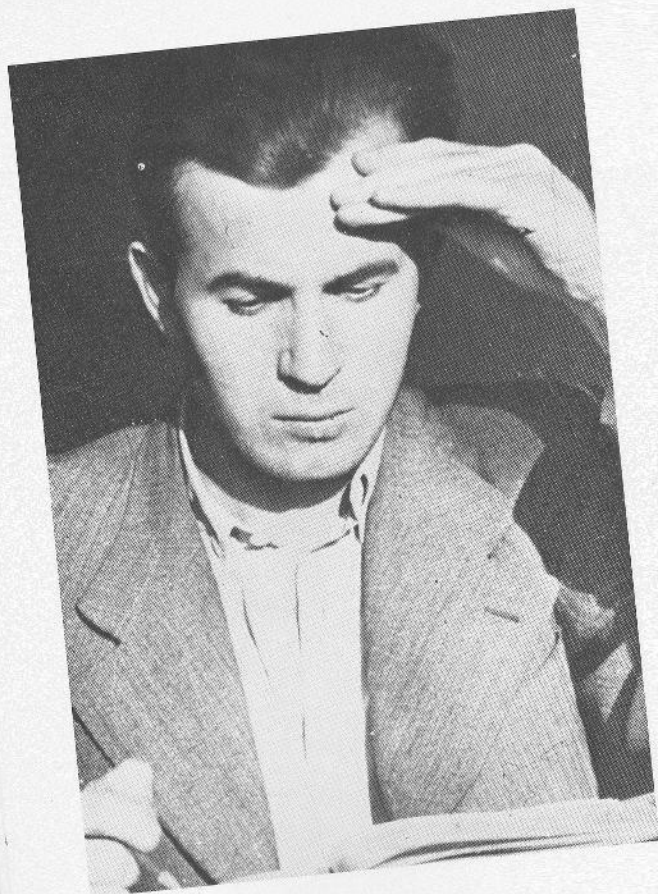


PLATE 2. As a student at the
J. A. Comenius University in Bratislava.

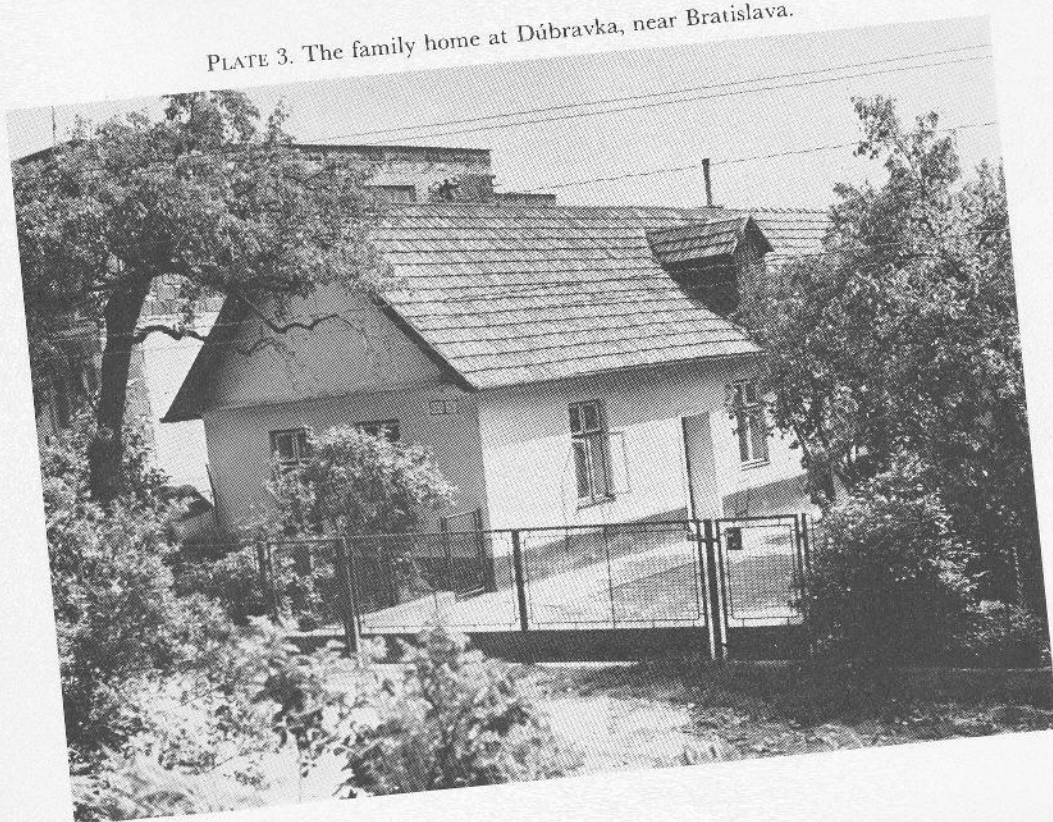


PLATE 3. The family home at Dúbravka, near Bratislava.



PLATE 4. At Dúbravka (1940).

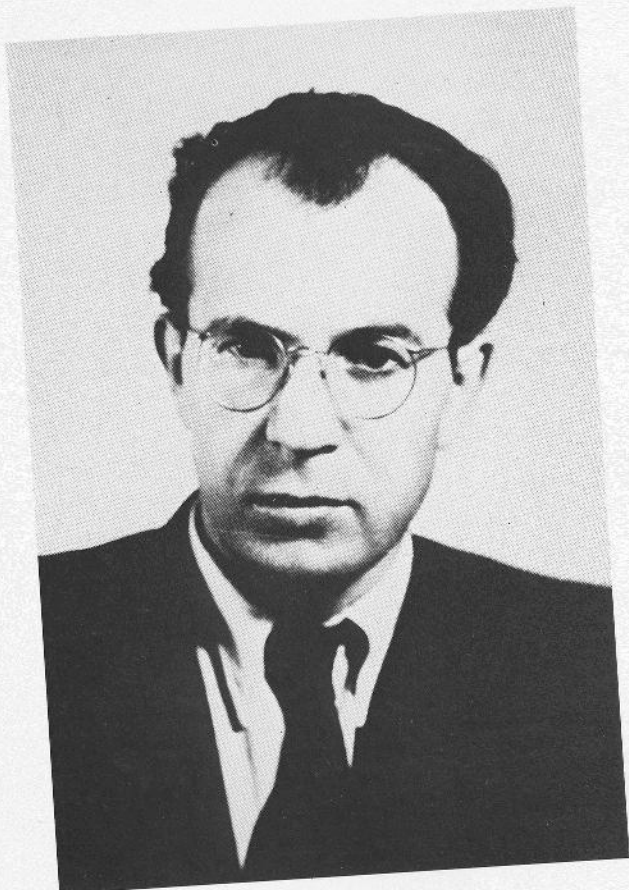
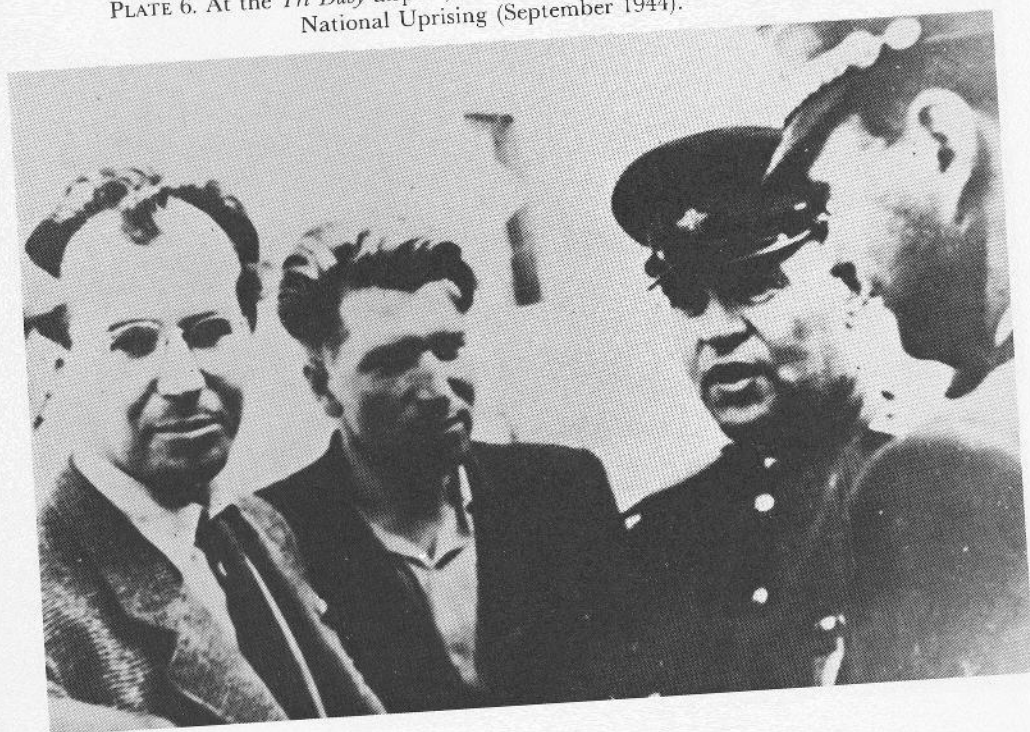


PLATE 5. As a Commissioner of the Slovak National Council during the Slovak National Uprising.

PLATE 6. At the *Tri Duby* airport, near Banská Bystrica, during the Slovak National Uprising (September 1944).



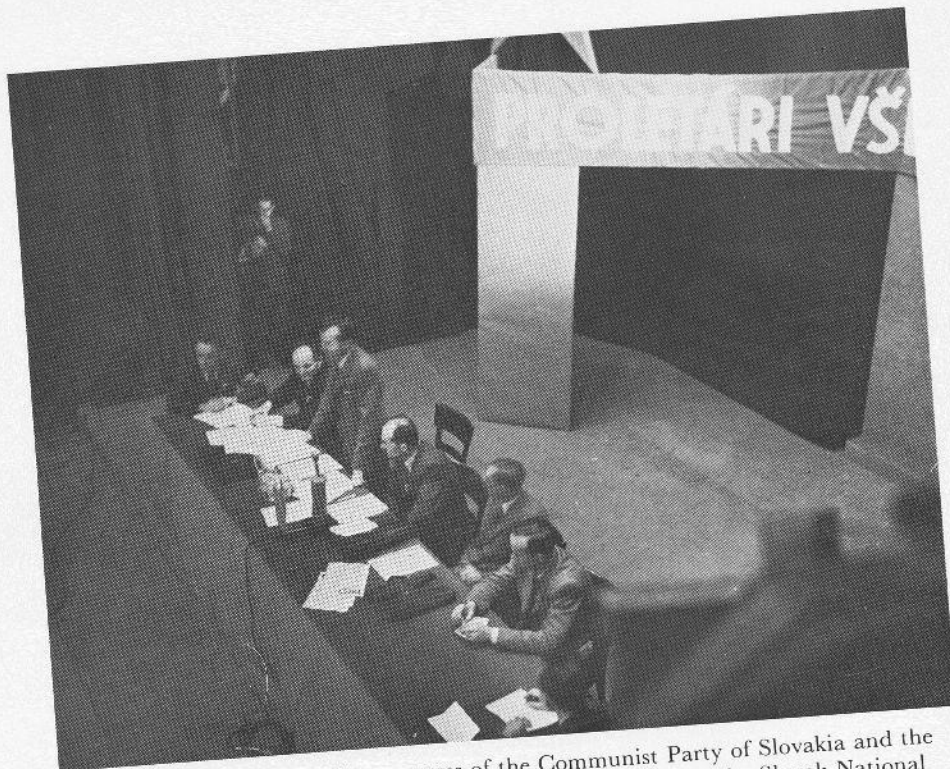


PLATE 7. At the unification congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the Slovak Social Democratic Party at Banská Bystrica, during the Slovak National Uprising (September 1944).

PLATE 8. At a session of the Slovak National Council at Košice with President Eduard Beneš (3rd from left) (April 1945).





PLATE 9. During an address at the First of May Festivities in Bratislava (1945).

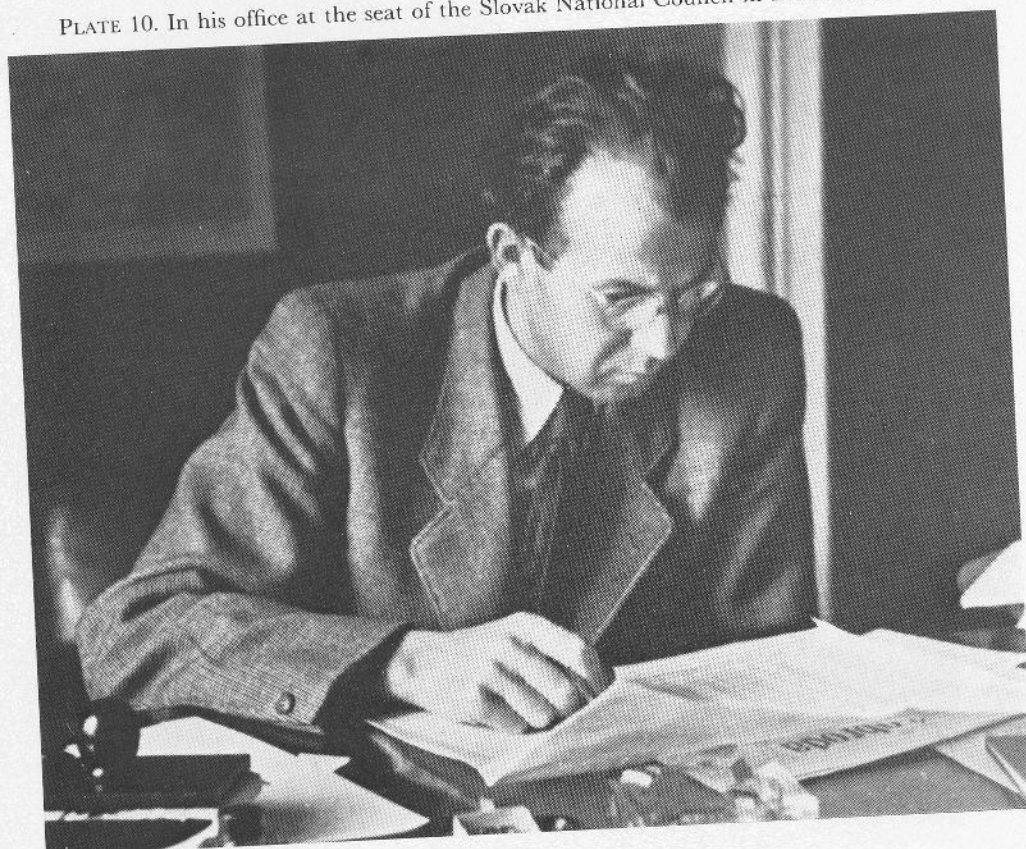


PLATE 10. In his office at the seat of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava (1945).



PLATE 11.

PLATE 12. V. and Prime M.





PLATE 11. Addressing a rally of the working people of Bratislava on 21 February 1948.

PLATE 12. With Georgi Dimitrov, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bulgaria and Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, during his visit to Bratislava (1948).





PLATE 13. With Klement Gottwald, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and Antonín Zápotocký, Prime Minister (June 1948).



PLATE 14. During the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, at Banská Bystrica (1964).

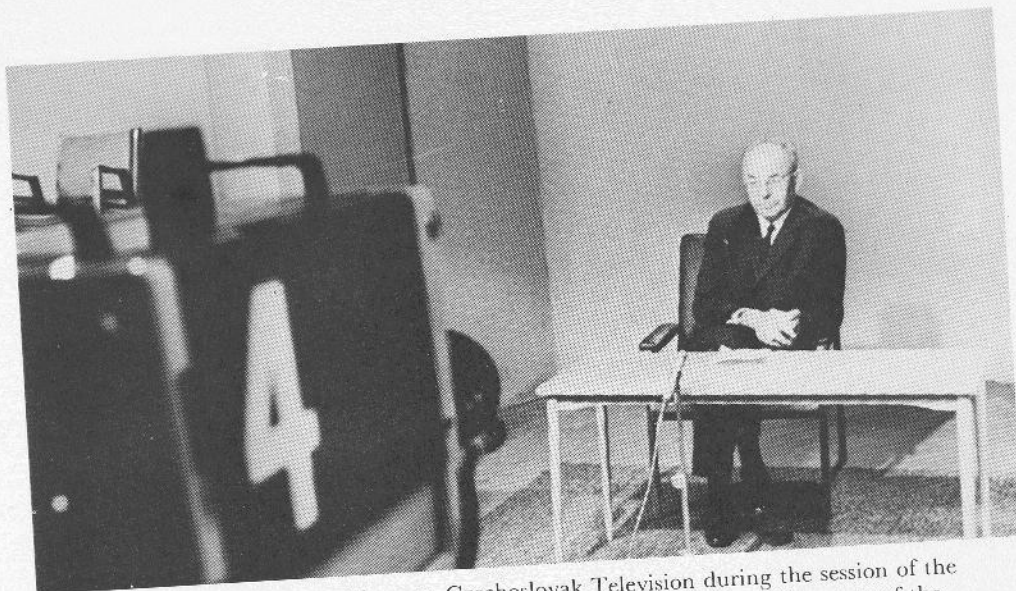


PLATE 15. Giving an address on Czechoslovak Television during the session of the Central Committee of the CPCz, upon his election as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCz (17 April 1969).



PLATE 16. In May 1969.

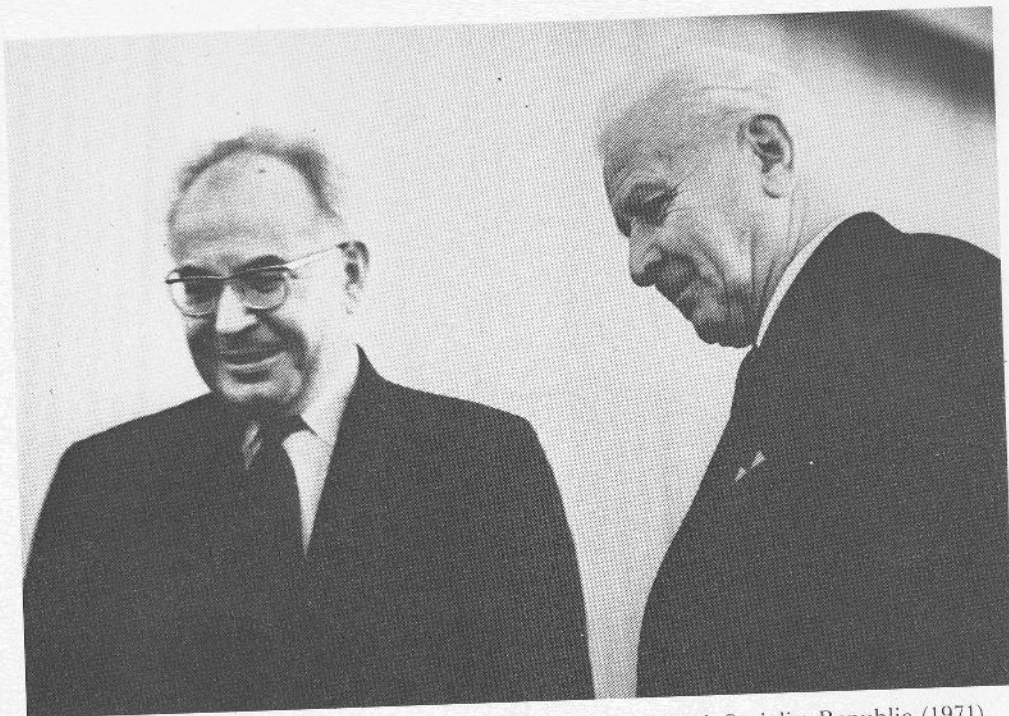


PLATE 17. With Ludvík Svoboda, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (1971).

PLATE 18. Addressing a youth rally in Southern Moravia (1971).

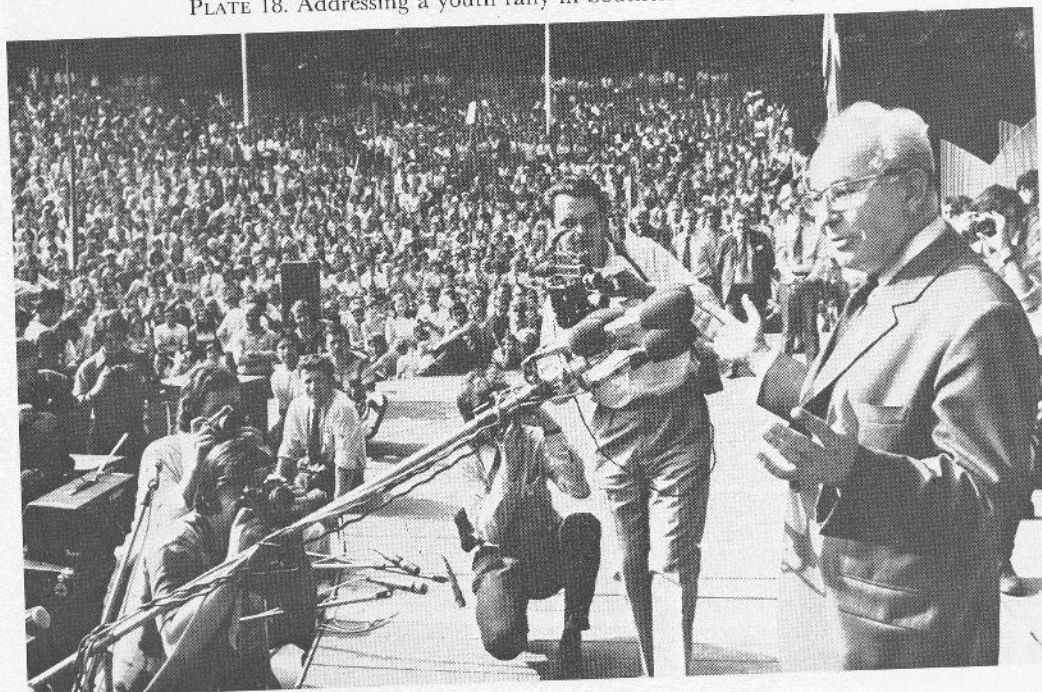


PLATE 19. In
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PLATE 19. In conversation with a citizen of the village of Zdikov in Southern Bohemia (1972).



PLATE 20. Among workers at the Kovostav National Enterprise at Ústí nad Orlicí in Eastern Bohemia (1972).





PLATE 21. With Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, during her visit to Czechoslovakia (1972).

PLATE 22. With Jozip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, during a visit to Yugoslavia (1973).



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avia (1973).



PLATE 23. With Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, President of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during the awarding of the Order of Lenin in Moscow (1973).



PLATE 24. With Fidel Castro, President of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba and First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba, during a visit to Cuba (1973).

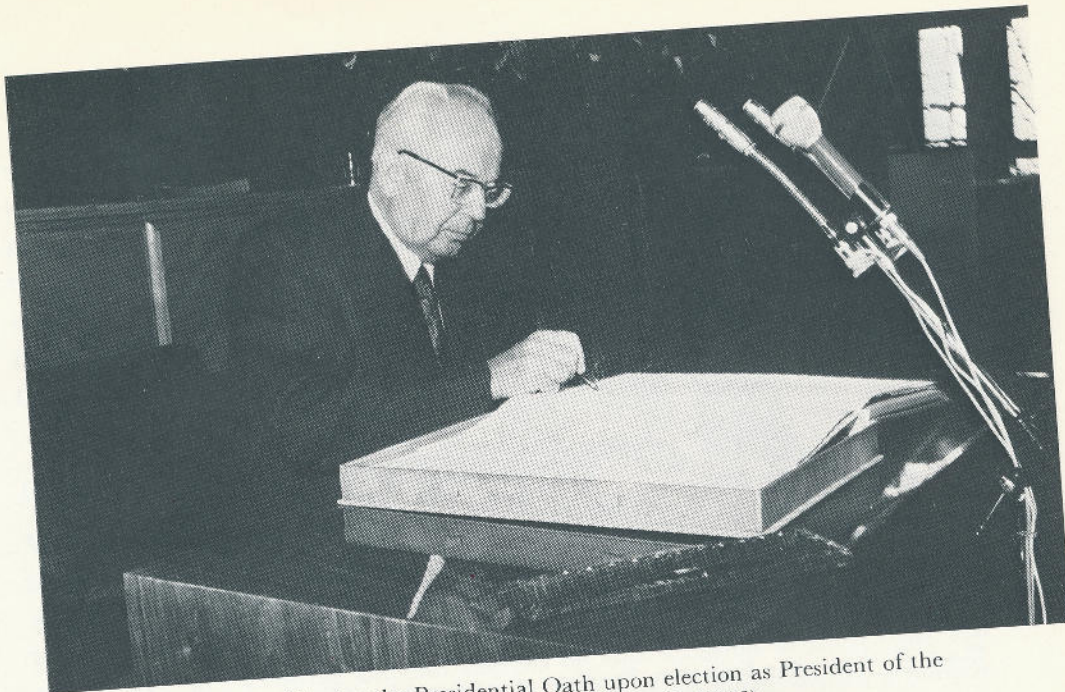


PLATE 25. Signing the Presidential Oath upon election as President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (1975).

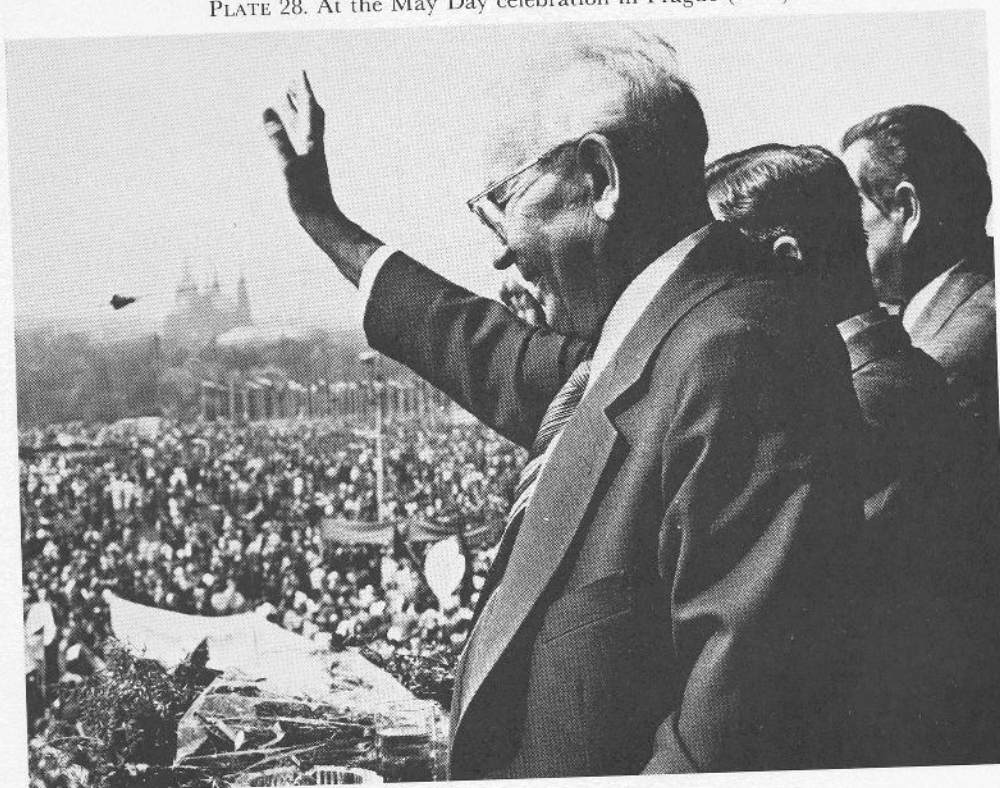
PLATE 26. Visiting the Steel Mills at Kladno, near Prague (1975).





PLATE 27. With Urho Kekkonen, President of the Republic of Finland, during the CSCE Conference at Helsinki (1975).

PLATE 28. At the May Day celebration in Prague (1977).



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those units, which are an important link in the economics of the management of enterprises; to make supply-delivery acceptance terms more stable, simple and effective and to bring research institutes closer to the specific need of economic practice. To improve the effectiveness of control work also means resolute elimination of all unnecessary and duplicated activities and links, rationalization of working methods, and doing away with bureaucracy and paperwork. . . .

Comrades!

We have important tasks facing us not only in the national economy, but also in deepening socialist social relations, improving the political system and promoting socialist democracy. The goals we are setting ourselves are not inconsiderable but we have all the prerequisites for attaining them. We are relying on the merits of the socialist system—on the creative initiative, self-sacrifice and determination of the working people and on their consciousness.

The working class embodies a tremendous source of creative force and ability. By its position in socialist social production it is predestined to play a decisive role in the process of bringing together classes and social groups, in establishing an approximation between town and village, between the work of hand and of brain. It is only the working class, vitally linked with the social form of ownership and with socialism, which is capable of unifying the interests of all the working people and of leading it to a classless society, to the realization of the noble ideals of socialism and communism.

Our cardinal duty is to see—that the working class as a whole is well prepared to fulfil these historic tasks, that its class consciousness, its discipline and collective spirit are further developed and that its working and living conditions are steadily improving. It is in the promotion and application of the creative forces of the working class, in its extended participation in the management of production and the political and social life of the country, that we see the fundamental prerequisite of successful socialist construction.

The implementation of the Leninist co-operative plan has brought about revolutionary changes in our villages and in the life of the whole countryside. A new class of co-operative farmers has emerged. This process, however, was not without hardships and difficulties, but the Party did not evade any obstacles. It consistently implemented the directive of the 9th Congress, which proclaimed that without the socialization of the village there would be no socialism in this country.

Only in this way was it possible to lay solid foundations for the socialist system in our country. The age-long backwardness of the village has disappeared forever. The village of today is modern, well provided with cultural facilities and attractive for young people and educated experts. This is a great victory which creates an important basis for the further social and economic development of our socialist society. We are justly proud of it. One of our most important tasks is to strengthen and promote this great achievement in all possible ways.

The co-operative farmers identify themselves with the ideology of the working class and deepen their links with the interests and needs of socialist society. Moreover, in the years to come the Party will ensure that the socialist character of this class is strengthened and its class-consciousness increased. The formation of big production units and the rationalization of management in agriculture must not lead to any weakening of inner-co-operative democracy, but to its strengthening.

It is also the intelligentsia who participated significantly in all the progressive and revolutionary social changes, that have completely transformed the life of our people. Its members are firmly linked to the working class and the co-operative farmers, from whose ranks they mostly come. They share their interest in the political, economic and cultural development of the country. The ideals of socialism and communism are what binds them together.

The programme of building up a developed socialist society opens a wide field of activity and self-realization for our intelligentsia. At the same time, it places high demands on all its sections, on the work of scientists and scholars, technicians, engineers, teachers and doctors, on the creators of cultural and aesthetic values, and on senior officials in all sections of social life. We expect to enlist their efforts, knowledge and talent with even greater commitment for the benefit of socialist development.

The legacy of the past and an obligation for the future is to deepen the ties between the working class, the co-operative farmers and the intelligentsia to guard and fortify the unity and fraternal co-operation between our nations and nationalities, to prevent disruption by anybody or anything, and to see that our nations develop and grow closer to each other, living and working in harmony.

The establishment of close harmonious relations between the classes and social sections of our society, the strengthening of the internationalists community of our nations and nationalities, the deepening of the cohesion between the Party and the widest sections of our population is what makes the role of the National Front so important. We shall ensure

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that the National Front, as a political expression of the class bond between workers, farmers and the intelligentsia, and of the togetherness of our nations and nationalities, continues to unify the efforts of Communists, non-Party members and members of the other political parties in the process of socialist construction, that it deepens their full and equitable share in the management and administration of public affairs, and that it creates good conditions for the application of various interests, political rights and freedoms of the citizens. . . .

Comrades!

The National Front and the organizations grouped in it, the National Committees, the legislative bodies, the executive organs of the state, our entire system of law and the educational and information systems constitute a wide base for the deepening of socialist democracy. It is in the increasing share of our people in the management of our country, in the solution of state and social affairs, and in their capacity to make decisions in the everyday affairs of enterprises, communities and towns that we see the essence and content of democracy. It is this real democracy, the democracy of the working masses, that we shall deepen and defend.

We shall develop socialist democracy within the unity of both its aspects—in the application of rights and in the performance by citizens of their duties towards society. Only on this condition can the social organism develop as a harmonious whole, utilizing the creative activity of the people for the realization of common objectives. We must encourage everything that stimulates the creative activity and initiative of our citizens, we must not tolerate situations where people willing to resolve problems meet with lack of understanding and bureaucratic indifference.

In developing socialist democracy, the activity and initiative of the people, it is important to provide a broad platform for an exchange of views and for the application of constructive criticism. We must reach such a stage in public affairs that the respective organs will readily respond to the suggestions of the people, remedy the criticized shortcomings and keep the public informed.

In the course of reinforcing popular power and the continued development of socialism, an important role is played by representative bodies. The main link with the citizens, a real school of socialist democracy, are the National Committees, with hundreds of thousands of dedicated deputies and activists working in them.

The objectives of our economic and social development require a substantial increase in the effectiveness of the National Committees, especially in the implementation of the comprehensive economic and social development of their areas. The National Committees should, first of all, make better use of their own material and financial resources for the fulfilment of the overall objectives of society and the satisfaction of the citizens' needs; they should more effectively influence the purposeful utilization of labour, the effectiveness of capital construction, and frugality in expending all funds.

We consider it necessary for the National Committees to extend and improve services, meet more effectively the needs of the population in the spheres of housing, distribution, transport and public order, pay due attention to the cleanliness and pleasing appearance of towns and villages, be more active in the education of citizens; in short, to do everything they can to make the life of the people contented and happy.

It appears essential to strengthen the authority of the National Committees in towns, rural community centres and on housing estates.

We shall go on improving the system of directing the National Committees; we shall see to it that the Governments of the Republics do not tolerate any restrictions of their authority, and that they co-ordinate the activities of the Ministries in their relation to the National Committees directly and more effectively than hitherto. A bigger share in the direction of the National Committees must be given to the control of the fulfilment of the objectives stipulated by the state plan, and the observance of socialist legality. . . .

Comrades!

We shall be able to accomplish the great and difficult-tasks that we are setting ourselves in the development of socialist society if the Party will develop its political education and ideological work in accordance with the new requirements and if socialist consciousness—the educational and cultural maturity of the working people—will further increase. The entire history of the revolution and the building of socialism offer us plenty of examples testifying to the fact that a person equipped with Marxism-Leninism, deeply convinced of and dedicated to the truth of socialism, does not retreat in the face of obstacles, does not lose his assurance even in the most difficult situations and does not fear to wage a struggle for the implementation of his socialist ideals.

Our Party is aware of the importance of ideological work for strengthening its bonds with the masses and for enlisting the working people for

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its policy. An enormous creative force is embodied in the people's consciousness and is capable of mobilizing society for resolving even the most complex tasks. Life once again proves the validity of Lenin's words that the strength of the socialist state lies in the consciousness of the masses.

The purposes of our entire educational effort is to mould man's entire personality, to shape his thinking and sentiments in the spirit of our socialist ideals, moral standards and values, so that he can fully promote within himself the most noble-minded role of manager and creator of a new society.

There is nothing as complex and challenging as man's education. Here, any formalism, any simplification will be paid for twice. The formation of man's socialist consciousness, which embraces his world-outlook, education and work ethos is being accomplished within a many-sided process of socialist construction. At the same time, one cannot overlook the fact that we are building socialism, a new society, under the conditions of a tenacious struggle between two antagonistic social systems, two irreconcilable ideologies. No-one can avoid this reality.

This is why it continues to be imperative for our entire ideological activity to lead people to class vigilance and irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology. Our permanent task is to wage a principled struggle against rightist opportunism and all varieties of revisionism, against various manifestations of petty-bourgeois attitudes and against survivals in the people's minds. An important part of philosophical training is represented by education in scientific atheism.

In the centre of the international ideological struggle today are the issues of socialism as it is—its class substance, its role in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and its historic superiority over capitalism. The application of Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and international détente calls for strengthening—opposition to the anti-Communist campaigns waged by imperialism, and to its attempts to destabilize the countries of existing socialism. The efforts of imperialist centres to misuse the issues of the nationality question and national differences in order to divide the socialist countries must lead us to pay extraordinary attention to the fight against all manifestations of nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

Internal as well as international conditions require us to continuously deepen our patriotic and internationalist consciousness—the resolve to build and defend not only our own country, but also socialism and progress in the world. . . .

Comrades!

Science occupies an important place in our society. I have already mentioned scientific and technical progress and the way it is applied to production. However, it is necessary to examine the questions of science from a broader perspective as well. We rightly commend the results achieved in natural, technical and social sciences. They are the outcome of selfless and devoted work by our scientists. International co-operation, especially with Soviet scientists, has brought outstanding successes. In this connection, let it suffice to mention space and nuclear research, research in the field of molecular genetics and the theoretical generalization of experience in the struggle for existing socialism.

In spite of undeniable successes it is necessary to state that the pace of development and application of science does not correspond to the needs and capacities which are at our disposal. So far, not enough has been accomplished in pooling our forces to tackle the key development problems of our society.

It is imperative to orientate scientific research towards finding new sources to secure the needs of our power-generating industry, to a more efficient utilization and valorization of our raw material base, to savings in material consumption, to the introduction of electronics and cybernetics, to robotization, to the investigation of biological technologies, to increasing soil fertility and livestock yields and to environmental protection.

In the next Five-year Plan, in the field of social sciences, one of the most important tasks will be research into the topical problems of building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia. The development of the social sciences will not be possible without creative discussions, a critical climate, bold research and, above all, a principled Party approach.

Practice has shown that it is highly important to examine the existing system of controlling, and managing science and technology. We must work out a system which will ensure an overall national policy in science and technology, which will lead to the essential deepening of links between science and production, and which will raise our scientific and technological base to a higher level.

An invaluable role in our life is played by culture and the arts. It was the socialist revolution which made culture and artistic values widely accessible to the working people and which has created unprecedentedly favourable conditions for fostering culture and the arts.

In its cultural policy the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia strives

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constantly for a systematic growth in the social role of the arts, whose mission is to enrich the lives of the widest working masses by making available real values, to strengthen the positive attitude of our citizens to the ideals of socialism and communism, to make art an inseparable part of our socialist way of life, and to help the upsurge of both cultural and social activities by our people. We support and shall go on supporting artistic creative work imbued with communist partisanship, which reacts to the principal questions of the present, which fights for socialist morality, which depicts the man of our time in his real struggles and working endeavours and educates him in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism.

Art embodying these qualities can spring only from a firm bond of its creators with the life of the people, from awareness of their common responsibilities as citizens. As in the past, our Party will in the future focus its attention on further cementing the wide ranks of the artistic front and will render every assistance in the application of socialist realism in all its rich expressiveness. Unions of artists will play an important role in these efforts. We expect them to go on contributing to the development of ideologically and artistically highly valuable creative output.

Each artist who strives to depict the many-sided and varied life of our people truthfully, to portray all the new being born within it and who honestly devotes his abilities to the service of socialism can count on our full support in the development and assertion of his or her talent. However, we cannot tolerate anything which is detrimental to socialist art and society, which is in contradiction to the ideals of socialist humanism. We will not allow anybody to denigrate the achievements of our people or of our revolutionary past and our socialist present. We must also apply the same high criteria to literary and artistic criticism.

The unions of creative artists and the Ministry of Culture must intensify the care taken of the young generation of creative artists, and of their political and artistic growth, and ensure that their search for individual artistic expression is not guided merely by a desire for originality but primarily by a sense of social responsibility to our people.

Our socialist culture will continue to play an important role and enjoy wide support in fulfilling its internationalist mission. An integral part of it is to contribute to the strengthening of the fraternal links with the countries of the socialist community, to effectively promote the development of peaceful co-operation among all the nations by the creation of outstanding cultural works, and to disseminate the truth concerning socialist Czechoslovakia.

Comrades!

We have set ourselves bold and demanding targets. There is no doubt that Communists will head the struggle for their implementation. The Party personifies the honour and wisdom of our society. The expression of the highest responsibility for the continued development of Socialism, for the future of our people, is care for the Party, for further strengthening its Marxist-Leninist unity and its capacity to act, as well as the harnessing and proper concentration of the creative energies of the great army of communists. In the words of Klement Gottwald, this is the supreme task, which must not be lost of sight for a single moment.

As of 1 January 1981, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had in its ranks 1,538,179 members and candidate members organized in 45,564 local branches.

Since the last Congress its membership base has continued to grow. Some 321,000 candidate members have been accepted in the ranks of the CPC; 61 per cent being workers, 7.8 per cent co-operative farmers and 22.1 per cent members of the intelligentsia. Out of the total number of candidate members accepted more than 90 per cent were young people under 35. The average age of the membership base decreased from 46 to 44. The representation of workers from the sphere of material production continues increasing; the working-class core of the Party is being strengthened; the proportion of women rose to 27.5 per cent.

As in the past, we shall expand the ranks of Party members by including outstanding workers, co-operative farmers and members of the intelligentsia—by those setting an example in their work and personal lives and committing themselves to public political activities.

It will be indispensable to continue to control purposefully in all its aspects the process of improving the quality of the Party membership base and to influence its social and age composition. This must be an indivisible part of the daily work of Party branches. This requires exerting even more influence on working teams, getting to know people and preparing them to become Party candidate members according to their political, working and moral qualities. More initiative in this respect is expected from the branches of the Socialist Union of Youth as well as from Communists in the trade unions.

The fact that more than 40 per cent of the membership base is represented by those who have been admitted into the Party in the course of the last decade multiplies the claims on the quality of the political education work, especially of District Committees and Party branches. Hand in hand with the stress laid on political and ideological

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education we must ensure—that the Young Communists will grow during the fulfilment of concrete tasks, while steeling their convictions in the struggle for Party policy.

In the activation of the Party, in strengthening the Communists' sense of responsibility and realism, and their awareness of the challenging demands made on them in the work of Party branches, an important role was played by the exchange of Party membership cards. In the course of the interviews held, Party membership was terminated in 12,814 cases.

In order to cope successfully with our tasks in the forthcoming period, we must improve the quality of political, organizing, ideological and educational activities, improve cadre work further and strengthen the leading role of the Party. This role will of necessity keep growing during the process of socialist construction. . . .

Comrades!

May I now turn to our Party's activities in international relations. The period under review demonstrated the correctness of the foreign policy of our Party, directed at the fulfilment of the Peace Programme of the countries of the socialist community and at a consistent class approach to all the phenomena of international life. The successful defence of peace—despite all the intrigues of world imperialism—is regarded by us as the greatest achievement. Against the imperialist policy of strength and dictation, confrontation, and the instigation of conflicts and arms races, the manifold activities of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist community succeeded in pushing further the process of détente, in strengthening international security and in achieving further successes in the struggle for peace, social progress and the freedom of nations.

The principal positive factor in world developments is the strengthening of the positions of socialism and the growth of its power of attraction. The struggle of the working people and progressive forces in capitalist countries for peace and social justice is steadily gaining momentum. The national liberation movement has won new great victories. All of this is intensifying the general crisis of capitalism and deepening its internal contradictions.

In an effort to reverse the historically unavoidable revolutionary transformations and to stop the process of détente, the most reactionary circles of imperialism, notably of the USA, went over to a deliberate exacerbation of the international situation at the turn of the seventies and eighties. They embarked on a course of stepping up the feverish arms

race, of creating new hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, and of naked force against nations fighting for their freedom and independence. They cynically brand the just liberation struggle of nations as "international terrorism". A particular danger is posed by the efforts of the ruling circles of the USA and NATO countries to upset and change in their own favour the military-strategic balance which is the basis of the stability of the present-day world.

During the period under review the Central Committee devoted its main attention to fostering and deepening our alliance and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. This forms the cornerstone of our foreign policy. This purposeful co-operation is successfully developing in all spheres and at all levels. Its core is the systematic strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist bond between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A number of significant, newly-concluded treaties and agreements of a political, economic, scientific and technical nature are instrumental in helping us solve the tasks of building a developed socialist society.

The innermost interests and aspirations of our people are finding fulfilment in alliance with the Soviet Union. Czechoslovak communists throughout our nation highly appreciate the role of the Soviet Union as the decisive bastion of socialism, of all that is revolutionary and progressive, as the hope and guarantor of peaceful development, whose might is shattering the efforts of imperialist and militaristic circles to impose their will on other nations. This objective role of the Soviet Union was once again fully demonstrated by the 26th CPSU Congress.

Our alliance and close collaboration constitutes not only a revolutionary legacy but living reality, the certainty on which we are basing all our plans and perspectives of future development. Our own experiences, our immediate needs, as well as the tasks of Czechoslovakia's continuing development, confirm in full measure the inevitability of international socialist economic integration, the validity of the words uttered by Leonid I. Brezhnev at the 26th Congress, that life itself is dictating the task of completing the co-ordination of the plans of the countries of the socialist community by the co-ordination of their entire economic policy. Our Party is in favour of an early meeting of leading representatives of the fraternal socialist countries to discuss key questions of economic policy co-ordination, and is prepared to make its contribution to the meeting's full success.

An essential role in the common endeavour of the socialist countries to safeguard the peaceful future of mankind is played by the Warsaw

Treaty Organization, the activities of which are an expression of foreign policy of the socialist countries and a bond.

In our relations with the fraternal socialist countries, proven principles and methods of meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the expression of the Leninist party's foreign policy, the Central Committee's role in international relations, the promotion of the development of our co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries.

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In harmony with the international relations of the socialist countries, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading role of the democratic countries, aimed at the working-class, the outcome of the Parties and the leading to progress.

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Treaty Organization. We will continue to contribute to the perfection of the activities of its organs, to the further deepening of the co-ordination of foreign policy by the socialist countries, and to the reliable protection of the socialist achievements of our nations by our joint military-political bond.

In our relations with the socialist countries we are proceeding from the proven principles of socialist internationalism. The results of the regular meetings of the leading representatives of the socialist states are an expression of the constantly deepening unity of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of our countries. The consultative meetings between Central Committee secretaries in charge of questions concerning international relations, ideological and organizational Party work and the promotion of working Party contacts at all levels form an integral part of our co-operation.

International imperialism is attempting to weaken the unity of the socialist community and, aided by a divisive policy and interference in the internal affairs of individual states, to detach one country or another from the bonds of the socialist family, as we have witnessed in Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and now once again in Poland. The reactionary forces have by now promoted these subversive actions to official state policy. . . .

In harmony with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and with the tasks which are facing the world Communist and working-class movement, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is actively contributing to the strengthening of the unity and action capability of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the present era. We shall support every initiative aimed at deepening the unity and cohesion of the Communist and working-class movement. Our work will contribute to the positive outcome of international meetings, utilize the experiences of individual Parties and share in every possible way in the common endeavour leading to the victory of the cause of the working class and of social progress.

Czechoslovak Communists are convinced that the implementation of the resolutions of such international meetings as the 1976 Berlin Conference and others contributes to the strengthening of the unity of the Communist and entire anti-imperialist movement. Enough problems have piled up at the present time which concern all Communist and

Workers' Parties, and it would in our view be useful to review them jointly.

History confirms that the forces of each Communist and Workers' Party, which is waging a struggle for the rights of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism, are multiplying whenever the internationalist unity of our whole movement is growing stronger.

In the spirit of the *Appeal For Peace and Disarmament* adopted at the Paris meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties last year, our Party is aiding the establishment of a common peace front with all democratic, progressive and peace movements, political parties and organizations. Without overlooking the differences in ideology and political attitudes, we intend to continue to promote relations with Social Democratic and Socialist Parties on the basis of a common drive to strengthen the process of détente, to stop the arms race and to avert the danger of war.

In the interest of reinforcing the broad anti-imperialist front we shall expand our co-operation with the progressive and democratic forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We shall strengthen our internationalist ties and friendship with all countries which have chosen the path of socialist development, and with the organizations and movements which are waging a consistent struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism for the complete liberation of their countries from imperialist domination. The Czechoslovak people will always be on the side of the nations fighting for freedom and independence, and will support their economic and social development.

We resolutely condemn the imperialists' attempts to export counter-revolution wherever the nations decided to overthrow the yoke of imperialist domination.

Czechoslovak Communists and all our people express their unequivocal approval of the fraternal aid selflessly extended by the Soviet Union to the Afghan revolution. We stand firmly by the side of the people and revolutionary forces of Afghanistan.

The situation in the Near East has further been complicated and sharpened as a consequence of the hegemonistic efforts of the USA. We fully support the proposal of the 26th CPSU Congress to convene an international conference on the elimination of this dangerous focus of tension. An overall political settlement must be based on respect for the legitimate interests of all states and nations of this region. This presupposes the accelerated withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, full respect for the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the setting up of their own

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independent state and the safeguarding of the security and sovereignty of all the states of the Near East.

In the countries of Latin America, progressive and revolutionary forces are conducting a courageous struggle against exploitation and oppression by imperialism and fascist dictatorial regimes. The people of El Salvador, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala and other heavily tested countries are bleeding. We condemn genocide and the crimes perpetrated by foreign and domestic reaction for the sake of preserving their positions in Central and South America. We express our solidarity with the Communists, revolutionaries and progressive people of these countries in their indomitable struggle for freedom and a happy future for their nations.

We intend to promote our relations with capitalist countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems in the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. In all spheres of our bilateral and multilateral contacts with capitalist states we are observing all the provisions of the Final Act, which we regard as an indivisible entity. We are at the same time proceeding from the premise that any continuity in the policy of détente and the promotion of relations between states with different social systems presupposes constructive co-operation between all states on an equitable basis, with mutual respect for and non-interference in the internal affairs of individual countries.

The relaxation of military tension is of decisive importance for the development of relations between states in the spirit of peace and détente. From the rostrum of the 26th Congress the Soviet Union was put forward a fresh initiative to extend the territory covered by confidence-building measures in the military sphere to the whole European part of the USSR, provided that the Western countries, too, would extend in a corresponding way the region to which these measures would be applied. The creation of confidence must, of course, apply to both sides. In this question no one can have any privileges.

After this magnanimous step by the USSR no obstacles need stand in the way of reaching swift agreement on the convening of a conference on military détente and disarmament. The course of the Madrid meeting shows, however, that the USA is continuing in its efforts to prevent reaching concrete results.

The ČSSR, in conjunction with the fraternal socialist and other peace-loving countries, is striving to turn Europe into a lasting zone of peace. This is also the aim of the USSR's fresh proposal to declare a moratorium

even now on the deployment in Europe of new nuclear medium-range missile weapons of NATO countries and the USSR.

A Europe at peace is not to the liking of the military-industrial complex in the USA. American imperialism has not given up its intentions to transform it as part of its global hegemonistic plans into a potential theatre of nuclear war. It is at the same time spreading fallacious notions that the USA would be spared of any horrors of war. We believe that the vital interests of nations, the force of reason will prevail. On our part, we intend to do everything in our power for the cause of peace. . . .

Comrades!

The eighties will not be easy years. The most important task facing mankind is the preservation of peace.

The new important initiatives put forward by Comrade Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress outline a realistic peace alternative to the imperialist policy of deliberate intensification of international tension. Our Party regards this organic continuation and development of the CPSU Peace Programme as a reliable and effective way to solve the most burning and urgent problems of contemporary international life. At the same time, we see it as a concentrated expression of the innermost vital interests, needs and goals of the whole Czechoslovak people in international relations.

We realize that the assertion of these peace aims will not be an easy task. A tenacious struggle will have to be carried on with reactionary and imperialistic forces attempting to revert the process of détente. We fully share Comrade Brezhnev's view that the "guideline for tomorrow must not be preparation for war, which condemns the nations to a senseless wasting of their material and spiritual values, but the strengthening of peace".

For the sake of preserving peace and favourable conditions for the building of our socialist society we shall—in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community—do our utmost to strengthen the security of the socialist community and to prevent imperialist aggressive forces from upsetting the present military-strategic balance. We will strive for the realization of all peace initiatives jointly worked out and asserted by the socialist countries, which are proving to the whole world that socialism is the decisive force in the struggle of nations for peace and international security.

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Comrade delegates, dear guests!

We are appraising the results of the intensive work carried out by our Party and people over the past five years and setting ourselves the programme for the forthcoming years. We have proudly recalled the sixty-year history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has been marked by the struggle for the fundamental interests of our nations, for their freedom and for the victory of socialism. It has been marked by dedicated service to the cause of the working class and of our people.

The selfless, conscious labour of more than one-and-a-half million communists, of hundreds of thousands of National Front officials and of millions of non-party members—citizens of our country—is shaping a fresh chapter in our modern history, the chapter of building a developed socialist society.

Today the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic ranks among those countries whose achievements in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres have made them noted throughout the world. As a firm part of the world socialist community it enjoys the respect and esteem of all progressive and peace-loving forces.

We have approached the working out of our programme for the forthcoming period with a sense of responsibility and we must adopt this same approach to its elaboration and, what is most important, to its fulfilment. We are looking into the future with optimism, yet soberly. We envisage a realistic, justified, perspective well-grounded on our most precious asset—the initiative of the conscious citizen for whom socialism has become the fulfilment of his aspirations. Of the citizen who draws his resolve and strength from the reality that he is the free, sovereign master, creator as well as user of the entire wealth of his country.

Some people will say that the tasks which we are setting ourselves are difficult. But at what time in our Party's history did Communists set themselves easy tasks? I can surely express the conviction of all of us that the programme which we are going to adopt will not only be fulfilled but surpassed. We possess the pre-requisites for this. They are grounded in the realistic nature of our programme, in the cohesion of the Party, in its close links with the people, in the firm affiliation of our country to the socialist community and particularly in the all-embracing fraternal co-operation with the Soviet Union.

May the programme of the 16th Congress become a powerful force which will inspire us to a fresh upsurge of honest and selfless work, to new achievements on the way to our Communist future. . . .

6.

“The Lessons of Our Way”

Article on the sixty years of
struggles and victories of the
CPCz

May 1981

For our country, 1981 is the year of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and also of the 60th anniversary of its foundation. The coincidence of these outstanding events is an expression of the link between the stirring and eventful initial stage in the history of our Party and the vibrant reality of our day and—through the plans mapped out by the 16th Congress—with Czechoslovakia's immediate future.

Between 1921 and our present-day socialist reality lie six decades of the CPCz's struggle for the working people's social emancipation and national liberation, for the establishment of a just social system, for sound positions in the international political arena, and for the independence of the Czechoslovak state. In the course of these decades, the working class and all the other working people, led by the Party, overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie, established their own power and took the road of socialist construction. On that basis was ensured the all-round and unprecedented development of the country's nations and ethnic groups within the framework of a common state. The CPCz has fulfilled its historical mission with flying colours, and has implemented the commitments it has undertaken since its foundation.

At the turn of the 1980s, Czechoslovakia is a developed modern socialist state with a powerful economic and spiritual potential. It is characterized by dynamic social development; a mature economy and high living standards; close ties between the Party and the people; profound democracy; sincere friendship, alliance and all-round co-

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operation with the USSR; and a solid place within the family of the socialist community. All of this creates the basis for well-founded certainties in the present and reliable guarantees of our future.

We take pride in summing up the results of the CPCz's six decades, for it has shown itself to be the most progressive, revolutionary force in the history of our nations. It has loyally served and continues to serve the cause of the working class, of all the other working people, and of the nations and ethnic groups of our country. The CPCz's policy has always expressed their true and genuinely vital interests. This is the main source of the tremendous trust and high authority the Party has in the whole of Czechoslovak society.

Marking the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, we recall with respect the names and examples set by the revolutionaries who stood at its cradle, who shaped and tempered it as a Leninist type of party, making the greatest sacrifices without hesitation for the attainment of the goals set before them. We shall never forget Comrade Klement Gottwald, a remarkable revolutionary leader and an outstanding leader of the international Communist and working-class movement. For almost a quarter-century Comrade Gottwald stood at the head of the CPCz and led it in crucial class and national battles; his was an outstanding contribution to the establishment of the power of the working people and the construction of socialism.

The six decades have brought out even more clearly the importance of the historic step taken by the most conscious representatives of our working-class movement in establishing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In sharp class battles, on the strength of their own and very costly experience and the experience of the revolutionary struggle of other peoples, they were convinced that there is no other way to eliminate exploitation and build a new society except the revolutionary way mapped out in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the way first travelled by the Land of Soviets since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The establishment of Lenin's Party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—was a historic act that had an influence on all the subsequent development of the working-class movement in the world and on the choice of the way along which it advanced in Czechoslovakia. It was an example of the formation of the new type of revolutionary party without which successful struggle against the bourgeoisie would have been impossible.

On the eve of the First World War, our Social Democratic movement,

partitioned along national lines, fell under the influence of reformism, revisionism and nationalism, as did most of the other parties of the Second International. The Social Democratic leaders departed from Marxism and proletarian internationalism and, in effect, put their parties' policy at the service of the bourgeoisie.

The act of betrayal was the main reason for the defeat suffered by the revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia in 1918-20, when at issue was the character of the fledgeling Czechoslovak state which emerged after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire. However, the bitter experience of that period, above all the defeat of the general strike in December 1920, was not in vain. It showed our revolutionary proletariat that in order to defeat the bourgeoisie it has to make a complete political, ideological and organizational break with the opportunism of Social Democracy and to set up a new and truly revolutionary party, as the Russian Bolsheviks had done.

In Czechoslovakia, this historic task was undertaken by the left Marxist forces which the Communist International, the Soviet Communists, with their rich revolutionary experience, and Lenin personally helped crucially to shape and mature. Our left Marxist movement was formed and strengthened in the powerful ideological and political tide generated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Attitude to the Great October Revolution, to its ideas, and to the first workers' and peasants' state was the touchstone of the strength of conviction of these forces everywhere, and in our country also.

On the crest of the postwar revolutionary tide there was a wide spread in Czechoslovakia of Lenin's theoretical ideas and conclusions—a creative development of Marxism—and an acceleration of the political and ideological growth of the left forces. From the December general strike in particular to the establishment of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its constituent and unity congresses already ran a straight road.

In the course of this struggle a large majority of politically active rank-and-file Social Democrats were won over for Marxism-Leninism. This means that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emerged as a mass party with a clearly expressed working-class character. It declared its programmatic adherence to scientific communism; it countered the idea of a reconciliation with the bourgeoisie by putting forward the slogan of the class struggle for the purpose of a revolutionary transformation of society; in contrast to narrow nationalism, it raised aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism. Within the multinational state, the CPCz was shaped as a united organization of the revolutionary proletariat of

the entire country.
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The founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1921 brought to a close a long period of domination of reformism in our country, and marked the starting point in the development of our revolutionary working-class movement. A new force entered the arena of class and political battles with the historic mission of ending the domination of the bourgeoisie in Czechoslovak society and installing the working class in the leadership of our nations and ethnic groups.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not at once become a genuinely Leninist type of party. It had to test itself in class struggle and in battle, to advance from recognition of communist principles to giving them a concrete content, and to win the working masses and other strata of society over to its policies. To the CPCz fully applies what Lenin said at that time: "The proletarian vanguard has been won over ideologically. That is the main thing. Without this, not even the first step towards victory can be made. But that is still quite a long way from victory. Victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 92).

Since its foundation, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has advanced along the intricate way of mastering Marxism-Leninism in theory and in practice. In its political and ideological development there was a contest between the forces directing the Party along the consistent revolutionary way and the forces of opportunism and revisionism. The crucial battle on the character of the Party had to be fought above all against right-wing opportunism, which took shape in the 1920s as a political trend, and which, under the temporary and partial stabilization of capitalism, symbolized a loss of revolutionary perspective.

The Party's development ran through a protracted process of bolshevization, a necessary phase in the shaping of its Marxist-Leninist character. The revolutionary nucleus, whose core consisted of a group of young Party functionaries led by Klement Gottwald, dedicated themselves to this task.

The struggle for the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party reached its high point at the 5th Congress in February 1929, which marked the turning point in the history of the CPCz. Gottwald's election as Party leader and the general line taken by the Congress for struggle against capitalism determined the basic prerequisites for the transformation of the CPCz into a truly Leninist type of party—organizationally, ideologically and politically. The Congress marked the victory of Leninism in

the Czechoslovak working-class movement and was a herald of the future triumph of the proletarian revolution in our country.

The import of the changes in the life and activity of the Party effected by the 5th Congress became clear when the CPCz led the struggle for the proletarian alternative in breaking out of the grave economic crisis which hit Czechoslovakia along with other capitalist countries. Consistently standing up for the interests of the industrial and agricultural proletariat, the jobless, the landless and the land-hungry peasants and other exploited people, especially among the young generation, the Party deepened and extended its ties with the masses. It also won political sympathies among the working people who were not politically organized or belonged to other parties.

The CPCz's growing influence in the masses was even more pronounced during the struggle against the fascist danger and the war, and in defence of democracy and the Republic. In the new conditions, resistance to the offensive by internal fascism and defence of the country against the threats of Nazi Germany, a merger of this meaningful struggle with an advance towards long-term goals, became a task of primary importance. Here, the Party relied on earlier experience in bringing about joint action by the proletariat, which showed that the working class could involve broad masses of working people in an alliance if it led a movement not only for socio-economic demands, but also for democracy, peace and national independence. Consequently, the CPCz's experience was a contribution to the shaping of the Comintern's new strategy and tactics formulated at its 7th Congress, something that was of great importance to the international Communist and working-class movement.

The Popular Front idea, put forward by the 7th Congress, was creatively applied by our Party in Czechoslovak conditions. The line of uniting all the anti-fascist forces in a Popular Front, with a united working-class front as its core, became the basis of the Party's policy in the period of the defence of the Republic and democracy against the fascist danger.

In that period, a difficult and troubled one for our people, the CPCz, a consistently patriotic and internationalist force, gave crucial help to the anti-fascist movement (especially in the critical year of 1938) to develop into action by the working people that was unparalleled in scope since the emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic. While the bourgeoisie and the reformists, manipulating patriotic slogans, steadily retreated in the face of fascism eventually to capitulate and mostly to end up in betrayal, the Czechoslovak Communists showed themselves to be the

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most consistent patriots and resolute defenders of the Republic and democracy.

The Party mobilized the masses against the ignominious betrayal by the Western great powers and the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, which in Munich in 1938 and in March 1939—despite Soviet proposals on joint actions and aid to Czechoslovakia in the face of aggression—left our peoples and country to be savaged by German imperialism. From the first day of fascist bondage, with the state lying in ruins, the CPCz roused and organized the masses to resist the fascist invaders and their Czechoslovak satraps. In the long and hard history of our people and the Communist Party, the anti-fascist national-liberation struggle is among the hardest and most heroic.

The fiery patriotism, the battles, the sacrifices and the example set by the Communists inspired our resistance movement at home and abroad and turned it into an important component part of the broad international fight against fascism. At the tragic crossroads of history, when the issue for our peoples was to be or not to be, the CPCz fulfilled its class and national responsibility with honour.

In the national liberation struggle, whose main stages are lit up by the Soviet Union's heroic fight against Nazi aggression, the Communists received the most extensive support from masses of people. Under the leadership of the CPCz the proletariat became the leader of all the liberation forces united in the National Front. The Party, the working class and the rest of the working people came out not only for a re-establishment of national freedom and state sovereignty. For the Communists and broad strata of the working people it was simultaneously a battle for a new, popular and democratic Czechoslovakia, in which power would belong to the working people, and whose internal condition and international orientation would guarantee that Munich and 15 March 1939 would never recur. Our Party's revolutionary line triumphed, gaining the upper hand over the bourgeois hopes of restoring the pre-Munich order, and this had a resolute effect on the character of the final stage in the Czechoslovak people's national-liberation struggle.

The Slovak National Uprising in August 1944, which marked the start of the national-democratic revolution, and later the May Uprising of the Czech people in 1945, the struggle against the national and social fetters fired the working people with resolve to take the destiny of the liberated state into their own hands and to prevent a restoration of the power of the bourgeoisie.

Our national and state freedom were restored through the heroism of the Soviet Army, which played the main role in the liberation of the

peoples in Central and South-eastern Europe. It triumphantly ended the Great Patriotic War in the European theatre of operations with the liberation of Czechoslovakia. A new, people's democratic system was established in the country. For us, 9 May 1945 is the greatest holiday in our modern history, the apotheosis of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle, the Soviet Army's feat of arms, and the beginnings of the new life.

The emergence of the people's democratic system in Czechoslovakia gave full scope to profound political, economic, social and cultural changes. The Communists initiated the establishment of a National Front government, the first government in the country's history in which they were broadly represented. The Party looked to the consistent implementation and development of the national-democratic revolution and its gradual growth into a socialist revolution. This strategy was based on the struggle for unflagging fulfilment of the Košice government programme, which had been worked out on the Communists' initiative and which was a comprehensive programme for the building of a new Czechoslovakia.

Theoretically, that policy relied on Lenin's doctrine on the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution and on the CPSU's experience in three revolutions in Russia. The CPCz used all of this in creative application to Czechoslovak conditions. Our Party's experience in pursuing this policy from 1944 to 1948 confirmed the general nature of regularities determining the transition to a socialist revolution and its realization in various countries, including those which are relatively well developed in economic terms.

The Communists' struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution exposed the duplicity of that part of the bourgeoisie (whose spokesman at that time was chiefly President Beneš) which had belonged to the anti-Hitlerite coalition during the war and after liberation still participated in the government. It claimed to have accepted the joint programme of the National Front, a programme for building a new Czechoslovakia. Actually, however, it had not abandoned its plans for a return to the pre-Munich order. Because of its destructive policy, it plunged ever deeper into political isolation and, fearful of a defeat at the election scheduled for the spring, in February 1948 stooped to an attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup.

The February events were the crucial class and political battle for the subsequent destiny of our peoples and the Czechoslovak state, and its further progressive development. These events determined Czecho-

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slovakia's place in the class-divided world, and our people's contribution to mankind's struggle for progress, democracy, peace and socialism.

The working people's victory in February 1948 had far-reaching consequences. It was not only the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, but also the imperialist forces which incited, inspired and directed it that suffered a defeat. Political power passed fully into the hands of the working class and its allies. We maintained the progressive behests of the national-liberation struggle and strengthened and consolidated our country's alliance with the USSR.

The historical experience gained by our Party from 1944 to 1948 was a considerable contribution to the treasure-store of the international Communist and working-class movement. Throughout this entire period, and especially during the February 1948 days, the Party's activity confirmed its maturity as a Leninist type of party and testified to its skill in matters of strategy and tactics. Thanks to its principled and creative policy, the CPCz succeeded in implementing Lenin's idea about the organic connection between the struggle for democracy and for socialism, and in awakening the revolutionary initiative of the masses and educating them in the light of their own revolutionary practice. This success sprang from the high activity, energy and dedication of the Communists and their Marxist-Leninist unity. The socialist revolution in an economically developed country triumphed without civil war or bloodshed, advancing along a peaceful and consistently revolutionary way.

Following the February victory, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia entered upon the most outstanding period of its history. Enjoying the support of broad strata of the working people, who put their trust in the Party, it became the recognized leading political force of the society. The consolidation of its leading role was an earnest of realization of the great ideals of socialism and communism.

In working out the general line for building socialism in Czechoslovakia, which was adopted by the 9th Congress in 1949, the CPCz proceeded from the general regularities of socialist construction, which were epitomised in the experience of the fraternal Leninist Party and the Soviet people, regularities summed up by the doctrine of scientific communism. That was of invaluable importance for successfully tackling the tasks of the next stage in the revolutionary struggle that then lay ahead of us: the transition from capitalism to socialism. In defining the lines of advance, the Party took account of the country's conditions and traditions, the existing pattern of class forces, the experience of the masses and the development of international relations.

It is safe to say that the practice of socialist transformations in Czechoslovakia has fully borne out Lenin's view of the dialectics of the general regularities and the specific features inherent in each country during the building of socialism. This was recalled at the 26th Congress of the CPSU by Leonid Brezhnev. "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69–70). It is this idea of Lenin's that is embodied in the policy of the CPCz. The consistent realization of this Leninist approach has produced the most important successes of the Czechoslovak people and our party in the building and development of a socialist society.

Despite the complexity, scale and novelty of the tasks that had to be tackled in the short historical period, despite the complexities of the international situation and the cold war started by world imperialism and in spite of some blunders and mistakes in the period when the working class and the other working people were just mastering the art of government, socialist transformations were put through in our country. The working people became the true masters of their homeland. The party was able to mobilize broad masses of people for socialist construction and, with their active support, to translate the ideals of social and national justice into reality, to develop socialist democracy, and to educate the new man and to secure acceptance of the new social values.

The total triumph of socialist relations of production was achieved in every sphere of the national economy. We have built a powerful material and technical basis for the new system. There was a rapid quantitative and qualitative upswing in our industry, so that today it turns out more in less than a month than it took the bourgeois republic a year to produce. The socialist restructuring of agriculture on the basis of large-scale co-operative production is one of our most important achievements. The triumph of socialism in the countryside, the emergence of a class of co-operative peasants, and the gradual introduction of industrial methods of agriculture created the basis for a radical change in the farmers' living and working conditions and for overcoming the historically rooted distinctions between town and country. All of this is the result of the Czechoslovak people's selfless and honest labour; it is also the product of the development of the international division of labour within the CMEA framework, and especially of our all-round co-operation with the Soviet Union.

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The constitutional right to work and to full employment, well-developed social security for the working people and pensioners, free health care of a high standard, the stable growth of real wages and incomes, the steady increase in personal and social consumption, the genuine equality of women, the generally accessible and high level of culture and education, the broad concern for families and their children, for rising generations and the aged, the support for the growth of the population, the extensive construction of housing, marketing, school, hospital, cultural, sports and other facilities—all of this provides convincing evidence that the policy of our Party and the socialist state brings to the fore concern for the people's well-being and its sense of social certainty, concern for true respect and security of the working man's rights, interests and requirements.

The solution of the nationalities problem is one of the cardinal achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia. The historically rooted distinctions between the levels of economic, social and cultural development of the various regions have been overcome, and relations of equality, brotherhood and solid unity between the Czechs and Slovaks and other ethnic groups were established, and this is expressed in the federal structure of the Czechoslovak state.

The social structure of society has undergone radical changes. The working class, which, as of right, has the leading position in our society, is the chief force, mainstay and guarantor of the development of socialism. The class of co-operative peasantry is its reliable ally. A considerable contribution to multiplying the material and spiritual values and to scientific and technical progress is being made by our intelligentsia. Our society has gone a long way in gradually bringing the classes and social groups closer together and in consolidating the moral and political unity of the Czechoslovak people.

Czechoslovakia is a solid component part of the socialist community. Together with the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries, we have solved—once and for all—the age-old and vitally important problem of providing guarantees for our people's freedom, independence and international security. Sound friendship, alliance and co-operation with the USSR are the cornerstone of socialist Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.

Over the past decades, we have gained the conviction that the radical changes resulting from the construction and development of socialism require an effort to overcome the inevitable obstacles and to produce creative solutions of newly arising problems. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always found the strength, energy and boldness to make a critical analysis of the actual situation, to choose the right course

and to lead the people along the Leninist way. That is evidence of its maturity.

The revolutionary socialist transformation of a society makes ever greater demands on the research, programmatic, political-organizational and ideological activity of the Party. What is especially important is to formulate the strategy of social development and define the individual states of socialist construction and their specifics correctly, not to lose sight of the continuity of policy over the long-term perspective, to reckon with the real potentialities and requirements, and not to allow subjectivism or voluntarism.

In the 1960s, after the foundation of socialism had been laid in our country, the Party leadership of the period abandoned the consistent consideration of these requirements. The shortcomings in meeting the requirements of social and economic development, the blunders in ideological work—especially in the fight against right-wing opportunism—produced a grave and growing crisis.

The conclusions concerning that period were summed up by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the well-known document *The Lesson of the Crisis of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Society After the 13th Congress of the CPCz* and also in the resolution *On the Important Questions of Party Unity*. These documents reflected the conviction, which springs from experience, that the Party can fulfil its mission of defending and developing the gains of socialism only when the whole of its activity proceeds from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, only when it carries on a consistent struggle against revisionism and opportunism, when it has close ties with the people and has a firm, united and resolute leadership.

The political defeat of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces, and the consolidation of the society enabled the CPCz at its 14th Congress to lay down a general line for building a developed socialist society, which was subsequently continued by the 15th and the recent 16th Congresses. The theoretical foundation for this line is Lenin's idea concerning the long duration of the phase of development along the road to communism.

It is not only Czechoslovak experience but also that of other fraternal parties of the socialist countries that bears out the conclusion that the stage through which we are now passing is a period of necessary, law-governed and historically relatively long period of transition to communism, the stage of building a developed socialist society. Its main content in Czechoslovakia, as in other countries, is the all-round growth to maturity of the socialist social system as a whole and of its elements, and

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the ever fuller and more profound expression of the uniformities of socialism and the use of its potentialities.

The experience of the past decade shows that the Party's approach and activity in overcoming the consequences of the crisis are correct and shows very well that the general line of building a developed socialist society well serves the Czechoslovak people's national and international interests and provides a scientifically grounded response to the requirements of our continued advance.

We have also realized that the interests of each of the countries building socialism require vigorous effort to increase their co-operation with each other, international socialist economic integration, and the bringing of our states closer together. This process, a most important aspect of the present stage in socialist construction, multiplies our forces for the benefit of the common cause. It unfolds on an objective basis and reflects the dialectical connection between the general features and advantages of socialism, on the one hand, and the national specifics and historical peculiarities of the individual socialist countries and peoples, on the other. The ideas expressed in this context by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU are an outstanding theoretical contribution which broadens our understanding of this process. Our Party will continue to promote such development through the whole of its activity in the future as well.

The overall results achieved by the socialist-community countries towards the close of the 1970s indicate a strengthening and deepening of all the basic values of socialism. The past decade is among the most important periods in the life of the CPCz and in the whole history of socialist construction in our country.

The successes achieved over the CPCz's sixty years of struggle show that it has always been aware of its historical responsibility to the Czechoslovak society, to our national and ethnic groups and to the international revolutionary movement. It regards this historical responsibility as its highest commitment and simultaneously as the ever vibrant legacy of its fine history. It turns to this history, to the events of the class and national struggle, to its best traditions above all for the purpose of learning the lessons and drawing inspiration and strength for tackling the difficult tasks of the 1980s set before Czechoslovak Communists by the 16th Congress of the CPCz.

7.

Speech at the 10th Trade Union Congress

15 April 1982

Excerpts

Esteemed Guests, Dear Foreign Friends, Comrades!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Central Committee of the National Front, the Czechoslovak Government and the attending delegation, as well as on my own behalf, may I extend cordial greetings to you, delegates to the 10th Trade Union Congress, and through you to the more than seven-million-strong army of members, activists and functionaries of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

The 10th Trade Union Congress ranks among this year's most important political events in the life of our country. This follows from the fact that the trade union movement, the most massive organization of the working class and other working people, has an indispensable role in building a developed socialist society. Your Congress will take stock of the results achieved so far and map the future course of trade union work in tackling important questions which relate to many spheres of life in our state. We are convinced that its decisions will promote the further activation of the working people in their drive to fulfil the decisions of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which have the unreserved support of the trade unions, in common with the other social organizations and political parties of the National Front.

The pre-Congress meetings and conferences, ranging from local trade union branches to the congresses of individual unions and of the trade union organizations in both national Republics, were a period of important political work, a great political school for millions of our working people. Their salient, definitive feature is the fact that they provided fresh confirmation of the trade-unionists' trust in and unequi-

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vocal support for the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This accords with the traditional unity of aims and close co-operation between the Party and the revolutionary trade unions, which has been forged and strengthened in the long decades of common struggle for the political and social rights of the working class and the working people as a whole. This has been so ever since the foundation of the CPCz; in the hard class struggles against exploitation, for bread and work, during the period of the bourgeois republic; in the struggle against fascism and for national freedom, for the consolidation of the people's democratic regime; in the trade unions' resolute actions during the glorious February days of 1948 as well as throughout the period of the building and development of socialism in our country. We are convinced that this will continue to be so in the future, too.

The enemies of socialism and of the working class have always exerted and are even today exerting great efforts to frustrate the joint advance by the trade unions and the communist parties, to disrupt the unity of the trade union movement itself. Under the slogan of the so-called "independence" of the trade unions they are actually trying to seduce them away from the positions of consistent class struggle. Here, the Czechoslovak working people also have their own experience from the years of their struggles against the bourgeoisie as well as from the crisis period of the second half of the 1960s.

We highly appreciate the fact that the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the united trade union organization of the Czechoslovak working people, has consistently and unequivocally supported the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in our society and its programme, and has been taking an active part in its implementation.

The CPCz puts a high value on the role of the trade unions, regarding their good work as an important force in the building and development of our socialist society. We believe that the united and strong trade unions are a great revolutionary accomplishment of our people. The Party will continue in the future to give much attention to reinforcing its strong bonds with the trade unions, and to have Communists stand in the front ranks of trade union work, so that the unity of the trade union movement is deepened and its influence and authority strengthened.

Comrades!

The pre-Congress discussions brought out many initiatives and valuable suggestions and proposals for better organization and management of production, the planning of the economy, and improvement of living and working conditions and of the trade unions' own activity. They also

brought out many sound and useful ideas and not a few justified critical and self-critical words which sprang from the working people's concern for improving matters and ensuring the success of our work. State and economic organs, as well as trade union bodies, must see to it that these suggestions and proposals are not forgotten and that they are fully utilized.

We highly appreciate the trade unionists' responsible approach and their unanimity on the basic political issues. We are happy to see their working activity and initiative. We know that in many sectors the fulfilment of tasks is no easy matter. That is why we appreciate all the more the broad upsurge of socialist emulation and of the pledges drive, by which the trade unionists want to help fulfil them.

I want to convey to our Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, to its members, activists and functionaries, and to all the working people the sincere gratitude of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for their selfless work, which is an important contribution to the continuing development of our socialist homeland and to the strengthening of our internationalist ties with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

We are convinced that the deliberations of the 10th Trade Union Congress will also be held in the spirit of a demanding, critical and self-critical approach to its own work and in the spirit of the high common responsibility of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the most massive organization of the National Front, for the further development of our society. We have attentively heard the *Report of the Central Council of Trade Unions* delivered by Comrade Hoffmann. The Report runs in the right direction; it provides a good orientation for the future work of our trade unions. It is a favourable account of the trade unions' important contribution to the building of socialism. It convincingly demonstrates their active participation in the shaping and implementation of the policy of our Party and State, in the working out and fulfilment of our national economic plans, and in management and administration. It is also a record of the trade unions' great contribution to improving the living and working conditions of our people and to the care for their education and training.

The struggle for the development of socialism is the common concern of our whole society, of the working people's active and selfless endeavour. The indispensable earnest of its success is common effort by the Communist Party, the socialist state, the trade unions and the entire National Front...

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That is experience verified by practice in building socialism in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia and in other countries of the socialist community. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia highly appreciates the fact that our trade unions have consistently based their activity on this Leninist experience and have taken a most unequivocal, principled stand on this matter. This is one of the fundamental sources of our strength, of our further successes in the future as well.

Comrades!

The five years since the 9th Trade Union Congress abound in great effort. We have achieved a number of good results. We have, however, also had to tackle numerous complex problems; we have had to overcome a great many obstacles. We have not succeeded in attaining all our aims or all the objectives of our plans. But in an overall objective assessment of the results achieved we can quite rightly claim that a great deal of good work has been done. We have made additional strides in the economic and cultural development of our society. The socialist system has been further consolidated and the people's moral and political unity has been deepened. The foreign-policy positions of our state have been also strengthened. We have gained fresh experience and knowledge. All of this goes to create sound prerequisites for our further advance.

There has been a full and unequivocal confirmation of the correctness of our Marxist-Leninist course, of the general line of building a developed socialist society, which had been further elaborated in concrete terms by the 16th CPCz Congress. The Congress outlined a challenging programme for the continued economic, social and cultural development of our society; for deepening our socialist democracy—the unity of our people, of the nations and nationalities of our country; for strengthening Czechoslovakia's international position as a solid member of the socialist community. The main purpose on which all our efforts must now be concentrated is that this general line should be even more consistently implemented.

In setting our goals, we proceeded from the growing strength of our society, from our people's will and resolve to work for the flourishing of our country, from the advantages of socialism and the deepening of co-operation of the whole socialist community. In so doing, we took full account of the fact that the internal economic conditions have become much more difficult and the external economic conditions decidedly worse. Our policy cannot be based on what we desire, but on strict respect for this objective situation.

We have repeatedly said that the prices of fuel, energy, raw materials and feedstuffs have sharply increased in the world economy. It has also become more difficult to obtain them from domestic output. There is a rapid acceleration of scientific and technical development, which further increases the demands on and competition in export. The crisis in the capitalist world has been deepening.

In the recent period, imperialism has also stepped up its politically motivated discriminatory measures against the socialist countries. This attitude conflicts with the accepted norms of international law and with the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. This situation has further accentuated the vital importance for us of developing all-round co-operation and economic integration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries.

Developments in the world economy also pose highly complicated problems for our state, which needs to import most of its raw materials and to export manufactured goods. The 16th Congress has formulated as a realistic, if challenging, way to their solution—the requirement to accelerate the switching of the national economy to intensive development, and to consistently follow the strategic line of enhancing the efficiency of production and the quality of all workmanship. In contrast to the preceding five-year periods, we have to ensure the further development of our economy, for all practical purposes, either with the same or with smaller resources of fuel, energy, metals and other materials, including raw materials. Output needs to be boosted by raising labour productivity with economies in the number of working personnel. We are increasingly orientating ourselves towards more intensive use of our own raw material resources, even if in some cases this entails considerable demands on investment, rising costs and ecological problems. There is a need to ensure a substantial increase in the share of high-quality and high-technology products and also more efficient use of material and energy inputs. There is a need to make much more intensive use of the available fixed assets. Apart from indispensable new construction, we must concentrate our means on their modernization and on the acceleration of scientific and technical development. We lay greater emphasis on a fundamental task of state-wide importance in increasing our self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs. Everywhere in both the production and also the non-production spheres, we are following and will continue to follow the way of stringent economies, including greater pressure for a reduction of administrative personnel.

Consistent efforts to attain these goals is the main prerequisite for realizing our intentions in the sphere of living standards, as the 16th

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Congress of the CPCz determined. Our people well know from their own experience what socialism has brought them. We can take stock with pride of the changes in the society, the rise of the material and cultural standards of the broad masses, the development of the countryside, the growth of education and culture, and the wide-ranging social achievements. A highly taxing and challenging task is to maintain the high living standards attained, as we have done over the past several years, despite the various difficulties. Nor is this a matter of good will or desire, but above all of creating the indispensable economic resources. On this we shall concentrate our efforts in the first place. In the process, it will be necessary in some sectors to take certain unpopular, as they are called, measures, which are, however, altogether inevitable from the standpoint of the overall interests of our society and the further balanced development of our economy.

The decisions of the 6th Party Congress provide our people with perspectives and certainties which stand out in bold relief against the background of the present state of affairs in the capitalist world, where there are, even in the most industrialized countries, millions upon millions of unemployed, and government budget deficits running to billions; where there are massive cutbacks in social gains, and where there is a universal spread of despair and loss of certainties in life.

While saying all this, we also speak openly of the shortcomings and difficulties that we have to overcome. We have consistently dealt with them at sittings of the Party's Central Committee and on other occasions, seeking to discover their causes and to indicate the ways to right them. Here, much has already been done. Last year we gave much attention to striking a balance in our external economic relations. We have also made definite progress in economizing on fuel and energy, in reducing material costs and in some other sectors. We have a number of good enterprises and outstanding collectives attaining top results which are well up to world standards. This proves that where the Communists, executives, workers and trade unionists join together in vigorously getting down to the job, matters are markedly advanced.

For the time being, however, the overall results are not up either to our potentialities, or to our requirements. It is all the more urgent to bring about a fundamental upturn in the efficiency of the whole economy, because this year, in addition to the tasks with which we did reckon in advance, we have to overcome also the consequences of last year's lower crops, to make marked economies in the use of oil products and to consolidate the balance of our external economic relations. Nor are things any simpler for next year. That is why the Party's Central

Committee has set, as a fundamental demand, the need to implement the Congress decisions with greater emphasis and much faster, to tackle mature problems more vigorously and to overcome the difficulties and eliminate the shortcomings more resolutely. That is putting it in general terms, but in every sector these things can be translated into highly concrete and meaningful language.

A number of tasks, like the need to change the product structure, are of a long-term character in view of the difficulties involved. We must now lay the chief emphasis on making more efficient use of all the potentialities for the most rapid attainment of concrete and effective results in our economy, above all in fulfilling the economic plan for this year. The point is to mobilize, much more swiftly and vigorously and with more emphasis on effectiveness than hitherto, all the political, economic, social and moral resources and organizational reserves for rapid enhancement of the efficiency of our economy. Such reserves will be found everywhere. It is possible and necessary to improve workmanship everywhere without delay.

A number of measures are being worked out and realized in the central organs so that our forces may be concentrated on the main tasks: on increasing agricultural output, above all crop output; on rationalizing the use of energy and of raw and other materials; on effecting an upturn in building and capital construction; and on improving the state of market supply in the services and in other sectors.

On the basis of a real assessment of the situation, we have written into our plans for this year lower rates of development, laying the greatest accent on the quality aspect of the product, on the necessary curtailment of the volume of investments with their commissioning in due time, on strict purposefulness and economy of imports and on enhancement of export results. Preliminary data on the fulfilment of tasks in the first quarter indicate, alongside some good results, also some serious problems in a number of sectors. A number of industrial enterprises have yet fully to cope with their plan targets. This once again emphasizes the urgency of the requirement to step up our efforts for the consistent fulfilment of the tasks of the plan for the whole year.

Neither complaints nor excuses, but hard work alone will help us to cope with the more challenging objective conditions and tasks in enhancing the efficiency and quality of workmanship. Let us add that our economy has the necessary prerequisites, enabling us gradually to cope with the new situation and to go forward from there.

That is why so much now depends on whether we shall manage to employ and mobilize these internal resources of our economy. The

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crucial task here is substantially to raise the level and efficiency of all management work, from top to bottom. That is why the Central Committee of the CPCz also demands that management at every level should work more vigorously and with greater initiative in implementing the Party's economic policy, to ensure the fulfilment of the national economic plan in all its main indicators, and consistently to realize the decisions and measures that have been taken. In our work of management and administration, we must try more resolutely to overcome established routines, negligence, an over-simplified approach, laxity in demand and indiscipline. . . .

Comrades!

It is now truer than ever before that the struggle for the further development of the economy, for the raising of labour productivity, and for greater economies and the application and mastery of new hardware and technology must be a matter for all working people, for entire work collectives, for the working class, for the co-operative farmers and for the intelligentsia. The need is to learn to count every spent crown, to make thrifty use of every ton of materials and foodstuffs, of every kilowatt-hour, of every machine, of every hectare of farmland and of every working hour. We cannot afford any superficiality, bombast or mediocrity. We must intensify our efforts to enable the people to understand these demands correctly and to accept them as their own. It is not enough merely to address words to them. There is a need to see that these are resolutely translated into life everywhere, without delay. Our demands everywhere on political, organizational and ideological education work should be increasingly great. The broadest sections of the working people should have the right understanding of the new conditions, of their causes, and of the problems and solutions that spring from them, and that—most importantly—they should actively get down to tackling these.

All these demands present more exacting criteria for all the activity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. They emphasize the common responsibility of the trade unions for the fulfilment of the plans for our country's socio-economic development. The interests of the working class and of all the other working people require the ROH should make a greater contribution to realizing the general line of further developing the socialist society and of enhancing the efficiency of the economy. If we

want to go on living on a level that is up to the present standards and requirements, we must be more thrifty in our economy and our work must be up to a higher standard.

In fulfilling their economic tasks, the trade unions have accumulated much experience and have performed much good work. However, like the whole of our society, the Party, the state and economic bodies, all the organizations of the National Front and the trade unions are now faced with urgent and important problems: how to make work more effective; how to increase the effort to raise the efficiency of the economy; what is to be done to markedly accelerate scientific and technical development, and to make better use of our resources. The trade unions' economic task in production is connected above all with the problems of the labour effort of the working class and of all the other working people, with the problems of labour productivity and quality of workmanship, thrift, remuneration, and the tightening of socialist work discipline.

From the two-fold task of the trade unions in securing the interests of the working people follows the obligation to make an active contribution to solving all these problems. A great deal can and must be done especially in further developing work initiatives and social emulation. As an expression of free labour, of conscious will to promote the most rapid development of the society, blaze the trail of progress, and set an example of the new attitude to work, socialist emulation is of extraordinary economic, political and moral significance precisely in the present period.

The foremost duty of state, economic and trade union organs is to create favourable conditions for development, to free themselves from any formal attitudes, so that the highest forms emphatically oriented towards quality, thrift and technical upgrading of the product should be most broadly spread within it.

In the sphere of remuneration, the point is for the trade unions, together with the economic organs, to intensify their drive against the very extensive but profoundly harmful wage-levelling, so that the socialist principle of remuneration in accordance with the work done should actually become a social norm in practice. The trade unions can also do a great deal to have front-ranking workers setting the tone at each work place, so that a true atmosphere of stringency should prevail, that the collectives themselves should take a stand against idleness and irresponsibility, and that they should carry on a struggle for discipline and organization for their own benefit and for the benefit of the society as a whole.

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Comrades!

The trade unions' growing common responsibility for the further advance of the national economy is closely bound up with their important mission in developing care for the working people. We are right to emphasize that the basic prerequisite for this is development of production. But for the development of the economy it is equally important to satisfy the requirements and legitimate interests of the working people.

Under socialism, it is not only the mission of the trade unions to display care for the working man, for improving his working and living conditions. It is the prime and most important task of the Communist Party and of the socialist state to serve the interests of the people. In the socialist system, the trade unions' activity has a fundamentally new political and socio-economic basis. It is not only a matter of protecting the interests of the working people in the face of the state, but also of individual executive workers, whenever they fail to do their duty, abuse their powers, and commit breaches of the principles of our policy and the legitimate rights of the working people.

We fully support the stand expressed in the *Report of the Central Council of the Trade Unions* that the trade unions will make full use of their legitimate rights, will resolutely condemn all such cases, will see to it that their activity really helps to prevent them, and will correct them swiftly when they do occur. The trade unions have broad and all-round potentialities and means for asserting the working people's interests and rights. They have broad powers in deciding on labour law problems and the social affairs of individuals and collectives; they have great scope for exerting an influence for improving the working and living conditions of citizens, raising the level of culture and labour safety, and caring for the working conditions of women and the training of young working people. I should like particularly to emphasize their task of devoting themselves to the younger generation of working people. This generation lacks experience, which is why it is necessary to give much attention to its correct education in the socialist spirit. The same applies to the whole sphere of concern for the working people's health and recreation, and to the activity of cultural education. There is a need to think along all these lines about the level of trade union work, and to improve its quality.

When speaking of the further improvement of care for the working people, I should like to mention yet another problem which bears on our citizens' everyday life. It is the whole sphere of the services.

We emphasized at the 16th Congress that its efficient functioning is

not only an economic but also a highly political problem. A number of measures are being prepared for further improving the work of the services. At the same time, however, it is desirable that the trade unions themselves, especially the trade union organs and organizations functioning in this politically sensitive sector, should exert a more active influence on raising the standard and quality of services, and decreasing the various manifestations of dishonesty and speculation. Here again, our trade unions must more urgently develop their control and educational activity, in the process closely co-operating with the appropriate organs, notably the National Committees.

Comrades!

At the stage which has been attained in the development of our society, growing importance attaches to the enhancement of the trade unions' functions in deepening and developing socialist democracy. Every day life provides confirmation that its basis is ever more extensive participation by the working people in decision-making on production and economic problems and on the activity of the National Committees and other elective organs at every level. Our citizens' direct participation in management is socialism's great advantage and an important factor in its further successful development.

Our Constitution and the whole of our legislation recognize the trade unions' broad rights and potentialities in this sphere and at the same time impose on them important responsibilities. In our society, we realize the working people's participation in the management of production by means of our revolutionary trade unions. The interests of our people and of socialism require that the trade unions should make the fullest use of these rights, so that their role should further gain in depth in every sphere of social life. Wherever the need may arise, these functions should be further developed.

To the trade unions also fully applies the demand formulated at the 16th Congress of the CPCz that, in the new, more complicated conditions, they should develop their activity much more vigorously, making an active contribution to the solution of new economic and social problems and gaining an understanding of and sensitivity for what is new. They must epitomize the progressive experience of front-ranking workers and work correctly to blend local interests and those of the society as a whole.

All of this increases the demands on the political and trade union training of union functionaries, and on their capability to take well-qualified decisions on the basis of concrete knowledge. An indispensable

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condition for the trade union functionary's successful work is his daily contact with practice and a good knowledge of his fellow workers and their interests and requirements. And may I also add that neither trade union functionaries nor trade union organs are at all immune to the malaise of bureaucracy. The pre-Congress discussion showed that in all these matters the trade unions' activity still contains more than enough reserves and potentialities for continued improvement of their work.

If the trade unions are successfully to cope with their tasks, it is imperative that they should closely co-operate and co-ordinate their efforts with state, and especially economic, organs and executive workers. On this problem also a number of well-justified reminders was addressed to both trade union organs and functionaries, as well as with respect to the acts of leading economic executives. Not all economic executives are fully aware that active work with people, application and realization of good ideas and concrete and objective assessment and settlement of critical remarks are a necessary feature of every good economic executive, as also of every trade union functionary, and at the same time an important factor in raising the quality and efficiency of production.

That is why all Party, state and trade union organs and functionaries, must make consistent efforts to create, at every work-place, great scope and the necessary organizational, economic and politico-educational prerequisites for developing the working people's initiative, for their active participation in assessing the problems arising in the process of work, and a common approach in solving these. They must constantly see that every well-grounded remark and every useful proposal is duly assessed and utilized. In such an atmosphere, the working people will be truly active and fully-fledged participants in the struggle to realize the programme of the 16th Congress of the CPCz. . . .

8.

Speech at the Third Congress of the Socialist Union of Youth 1 October 1982

Excerpts

Comrade Delegates, Guests, Dear Young Friends!

The present younger generation is witness to as well as active participant in tremendous revolutionary transformations in mankind's life. The new era launched by the October Revolution 65 years ago has changed the face of the world out of all recognition. The principles of scientific Socialism, which the working people of the Great Land of the Soviets were the first to implement under immensely difficult conditions, are today being realized in a number of European countries. They are taking deep root also on the Asian, African and Latin American continents. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become the most influential ideational stream. They are mobilizing hundreds of millions of people for an active struggle for their national and social freedom, for social progress, for Socialism and peace. The mighty wave of the national liberation movement practically put an end to colonial domination by imperialist powers. More than one hundred newly independent states came into being on the shambles after the Second World War.

The process of the revolutionary transformation of the world is permeated with the scientific and technological revolution which is profoundly transforming entire branches of human endeavour. The release of the vast energy of the atomic nucleus became a harbinger of an unprecedented development of productive forces. More than one hundred years ago Jan Neruda dreamt about mankind breaking down the bars which stand in its way to the stars. Twenty years ago Yuri Gagarin flew into cosmic space for the first time. Today mankind is already taking bold steps—although still only initial ones—to come to know and make practical use of outer space. We take pride in the fact that thanks to our

co-operation with the Soviet Union Czechoslovakia is playing a part in this. Roughly six decades ago Karel Čapek wrote a book in which the term robot was used for the first time. Today, due to the stupendous development of microelectronics, we stand at the threshold of an era in which robotization is becoming one of the most dynamic branches of human activity. One could similarly speak of new directions in chemization, of the development of biotechnologies, medicine and other branches. All this gives new dimensions and perspectives to the entire social development.

At the same time, however, numerous new problems, risks and dangers are facing human society. The crux of the matter is making the findings of science and technology serve to the advantage of mankind, peace and progress and not letting them be misused by aggressive imperialist forces to threaten human civilization. These forces, above all the USA, are stepping up feverish armament, heightening international tension, causing confrontations and crises and creating hotbeds of tension. Their hazardous policy has in the recent past increased the danger of war. In this situation there is no greater and nobler task than defending and safeguarding the peaceful life of people.

Poised against the aggressive policy of imperialism are powerful forces—primarily the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, but also the progressive national liberation, democratic peace movement of the whole world. Whether peace will be preserved and strengthened depends on their unity and resolute course of action.

Typical of our younger generation is an optimistic view of the world, a longing for friendship, for life in peace. It is natural for young people in all countries to play today a significant role in the struggle against imperialism, for peace. This is also binding on the Socialist Union of Youth to reinforce its links with progressive youth, with the peace forces of all countries. . . .

During the years of socialist construction our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, accomplished profound progressive changes in all spheres of society's life, in the economy, and in social and intellectual life. Thanks to these results, which we have further strengthened and deepened in the course of the past decade, Czechoslovakia has a firm standing in the world as a developed socialist state. It enjoys increasing international authority as a country with a broad economic base, and a developed industry and agriculture. It is a state with a developed system of social security,

devoting great care to the education of the people, and with a rich cultural life. It is a country with genuine democracy, in which the will of the people and social justice prevail.

The results achieved confirm that the revolutionary path chosen by our people in the Slovak National Rising and in the May Rising of the Czech People, and endorsed definitively in the February days of 1948 corresponds to its interests. It is affirmation of the vitality of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the historical ascendancy of Socialism over capitalism.

The younger generations also made a fair contribution to these struggles and the achieved results. They linked their notions of the future, of their life and work, with the revolutionary struggle of the working class. We are fully entitled to claim that Socialism fulfilled their hopes. The social certainties of young people occupy a significant place in the system of the social gains of the people. Young people enjoy extensive rights, their lives are materially and socially secure, they live without fear of tomorrow and they have wide opportunities for involvement in society.

During the seventies a number of fundamental issues concerning the life of the younger generation were successfully solved. The housing conditions of young families improved. Their consumption increased. Social aid to families with children, in its various forms, has already reached 32,000 million Cz. crowns per year and makes up a significant part of their overall incomes.

Care for young people, their education and the application of their creative abilities is a characteristic feature of the entire period of socialist construction. The socialist character and educational function of the school have been consolidated, and so have its links with the needs of society. Young people are today entering life with adequate vocational training.

Much could also be said about the improved conditions for spending leisure time, for recreation, sports and the cultural activities of young people. This also contributes significantly to the fact that today's younger generation is deeply linked with Socialism, that it is linking its life, its plans and its perspectives with it.

By its activities, élan, and sense for the new, each young generation significantly influences the life of society. That is why our Party gives constant consideration to solving the questions of youth as an indispensable and significant part of its entire programme. This has been reaffirmed by the resolutions of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

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Development is placing on the agenda new questions and needs concerning the life and involvement of the younger generation. We are devoting great attention to solving them. In doing so we can, of course, cope with them only at such a pace and scope as our real conditions allow us to do. We require all responsible organs, National Committees, enterprises and social organizations to pay full attention to the problems of young people, to approach them constructively, to make the most effective possible use of all the means which society is spending for this purpose. This requires greater understanding and a more flexible and sensitive approach to the needs of youth.

Comrades!

When speaking of the results achieved, of the certainties of our political and economic development, which in the present-day world are by no means a matter of course, we are in no case overlooking serious problems and various shortcomings. We are openly criticizing the fact that in a number of places things are not as they ought to be, as the objectives of our policy require or as would correspond to our internal possibilities and needs.

The complexity of our situation is further intensified by the fact that since the mid-seventies especially the external conditions of our economic development have markedly deteriorated in common with many other countries. Obtaining fuels and energy, foodstuffs and animal feed, ores and other raw materials is tied to rising costs; competition is stiffening and the demands placed on our export products are growing. Added to this, recently, has been a sharp intensification of the policy of embargo and gross economic and financial discrimination against the socialist countries carried out by the USA and under its pressure also by other Western countries. The conclusion drawn from these realities by our Party can be expressed quite briefly and unequivocally: if we are to cope with these complicated conditions we must improve our management, production and control.

The answer to the burning questions of the day, the direction of their solution is provided by the general line of building an advanced socialist society further elaborated by the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This is a programme of continuing advancement by our country, a programme worth fighting and working for. We are pleased that in common with the overwhelming majority of our citizens Czechoslovak youth and the Socialist Union of Youth as its spokesman and representative have also adhered to it and are contributing by their daily work to its fulfilment.

The economy is today an important front in our struggle for further socialist development. The core of our economic policy is contained in the demands for increased efficiency and quality of work, for transition to an intensive development of our national economy, for the mobilization of new factors of growth, especially of scientific and technological development and for socialist economic integration. The crux of the matter is to substantially improve our control over the great values which we are putting into our economy. Each kilogram of metal, grain, motor fuel, cement, food and animal feed, every machine and product must be utilized with the utmost economy. The efforts of Youth Union teams, of the Searchlight of the Young drive and of other initiatory projects which help to realize these aims deserve our full support and further extension.

The substantially fuller application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress is a key demand of the 16th Congress, the prerequisite to permanently raising efficiency. This is also the prerequisite to success in the competition with capitalism which, as V. I. Lenin used to emphasize, will be decided by higher productivity of labour. We are therefore founding our objectives in the development of society primarily on the linking of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with Socialism. Evidence of our endeavours is provided by the fact that we have set about building our own nuclear energy generating industry as well as a number of modern industrial branches. Yet in all sectors of our economic life, in microelectronics, in engineering, in agriculture and elsewhere we must substantially step up our efforts and speed up the pace of our advance. Under present conditions what is for the most part involved is not a further increase in the volume of production but rather the output of top level products, insofar as their technical standards, quality and utility values are concerned. This is no small task. If, however, we concentrate the force, energy and attention of our whole society on it, the task is a realistic one.

In order to speed up scientific and technological development we are carrying out and will in future continue to press for effective measures in the whole system of planning, organization and management, in the system of material motivation and in investment policy. It must be emphasized with great urgency that concrete steps must be sought and realized in every sphere for the successful fulfilment of this truly key task.

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people in science and technology. Even more has to be done to promote the widest interest among young people in becoming familiar with and assimilating modern science and technology, in working with it and in mastering it. Much useful work can and must be done in this respect by the Youth Union organization. Great responsibility rests on the whole of society here, but above all on the purposeful approach of our educational system, which must assert and ensure the weight of technical branches much more emphatically. . . .

Comrades!

The whole history of revolutionary struggles shows that the implementation of socialist ideals requires tremendous efforts. The past generations of young people made even the heaviest sacrifices for these ideals. We are convinced that today, too, you—the officials and members of the SSM—and the overwhelming majority of youth are not concerned with leading a comfortable life. Young people are not afraid of difficulties, they are keen to grapple with problems and to do a good deal of useful work for the socialist homeland and society. Youth and Socialism, peace, science and progress belong together. We firmly believe that our youth will work for those noble goals with even greater initiative, endeavour and enthusiasm.

The challenging nature of the present problems requires increasingly better training of the younger generation. The goal is that socialist man should harmoniously combine erudition, industriousness, cultural orientation and noble moral qualities; that he should be physically fit and actively engage himself in civic and social life. The education of the emerging generation, which will gradually take over responsibility for the future, for the continuing prosperity of our homeland, is therefore an exceptionally responsible task. It is a matter that concerns the whole of society, our Party, the Socialist Union of Youth, all organs of the socialist state and all sections of the National Front, the school and the army, but also the mass communications media, culture, the arts and other spheres of our social life. An indispensable role, which we emphasize and encourage, is also played in this by the family.

Not a little has already been done in this sector; not a little has been achieved. Evidence of this is also provided by the deliberations of your Congress. We know, however, how complex and multi-faceted the moulding of man is. To understand the complexity and contradictions of the present time, to know how to find one's bearings correctly in the rapid flow of events, in what is happening at home and abroad, and to

find one's proper place in life is never easy, and even less so for young people. Many, frequently contradictory, influences and phenomena make their impact here. This process is closely linked to the great revolutionary struggle for the transformation of society, to the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology and morality.

Today's young generation was born and brought up under Socialism. Socialist achievements are a matter of course to it. It has no knowledge of the burden of mass unemployment, of the loss of perspectives and of the feeling of hopelessness afflicting its contemporaries in the capitalist world. It is good that you yourselves have not had to get to know all these things from your own experience. It is therefore all the more necessary, however, for young people to know well the path which we had to traverse, to know how much struggle and selfless labour is embodied in our socialist present. Over the years we have had to overcome numerous difficulties, and to come to grips with errors and shortcomings too. The experiences and lessons drawn from the struggles for the victory of Socialism have enduring validity and serve as an important guide line to the younger generation.

An integral part of this is the fostering among young people of national pride and internationalist feeling; of pride in the historical past of our nations as well as in the achievements of socialist construction; in Czechoslovak socialist patriotism.

In order for young people to build a solid life-orientation, it is important to encourage socialist class consciousness, a firm conviction of the rightness of CPCz policy and of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; to make them understand the magnitude but also the complexity of the historical achievements of Socialism. V. I. Lenin already reminded his audiences that young people approached Socialism differently, in a different way, in a different manner and in a different situation from their fathers. They verify the correctness and truthfulness of Marxism-Leninism by other practical experiences and by new revolutionary tasks. For today's younger generation this means above all practical and daily involvement, direct participation in work for the continuing prosperity of Socialism, in the struggle for peace and progress.

This is the principal way of increasing the co-responsibility of young people for the development of our society. The crux of the matter is for young people to see in this work the purpose and content of their life, to receive satisfaction from it and to view it as the means of their social usefulness. That is why it is so important to entrust them in much larger measure and more boldly than so far with demanding and responsible tasks and functions. Even today they play a not inconsiderable part in

the administrative, legislative, social and sports work. They must rest content with the CPCz Congress wherever they are, be even more active, must become active in all sectors of the economy.

Every era, every generation has its own moral qualities and unfolding tasks, its own respect for work. We are aware of this, we are aware of them every day.

We say from the beginning—be—and through the encounter with the Marxist approach to Socialism. It is not to understand, but to understand more than just the facts. Our political education of young people is based on their own experience, on their own work in all spheres of life, in the workers' movement, in the retreating and in the advancing. This would be the work of the whole generation.

Comrades!

It was twelve years ago as an integral part of the path. A struggle not only for the present but for the future.

The Comrades' document on the problems of the position in the

the administration and management of the State in economic life, in legislative bodies and on National Committees, and in the organs of social and special-interest organizations. It would, however, not be right to rest content with the current state of affairs. We reiterated at the 16th CPCz Congress the principle that young people had to be present wherever their work and life were being decided upon; that they were to be even more involved in solving the important tasks of society. This must become a rule, a binding directive for the work of all organs, in all sectors of the life of our socialist society.

Every era, every social system shapes its yardsticks of the character and moral qualities and values of man. Our socialist system is taking over and unfolding the most humane moral norms—such as industriousness, respect for work, modesty, comradely relationships, honesty and honour. We are aware of the fact that we have not yet fully succeeded in asserting them everywhere.

We say frankly that everything is not always as we would wish it to be—and that includes the younger generation. Not infrequently we encounter manifestations of selfishness, parasitism, a frivolous, consumerist approach to life-qualities and phenomena which are alien to Socialism. It would be a mistake to overlook these negative phenomena or to underestimate them. An effective drive against them requires more than just the protection of young people from their influence and spread. Our political and educational work will only be truly effective when young people will stand up against these abuses on the basis of their own experience and conviction. The older generation must set an example to them in all this; a major part must be played in this by the team of fellow-workers. A sensitive, understanding attitude may in no case lead to retreating from the high demands placed on the younger generation. This would be to the detriment both of the young people themselves and of the whole of society.

Comrades!

It was twelve years ago that the Socialist Union of Youth came into being as an integral part of the struggle to overcome the deep crisis in society. The past years have fully demonstrated that this has been the correct path. A strong, united organization of youth is a great achievement, not only for the younger generation but for the whole of society.

The Congress Report delivered by Comrade Jeneral convincingly documented how the Youth Union was participating in solving the problems of the younger generation, and how it was pondering its own position in the life of socialist society. It shows the good results which you

have achieved in many sectors, as well as the objectives and goals which you are setting yourselves for the coming period. It focusses challengingly, critically and self-critically on those points where there are still shortcomings in your work; where matters are not such as we would wish them to be. It also indicates ways and means of overcoming these shortcomings.

A very important condition of the successful work of the Youth Union is a constant review of its working methods. It is essential for yours to be a young organization, not only by virtue of the age of its members but above all by its élan and forms of work, which should be lively and attractive to young people. You are not yet succeeding in this everywhere. A formal, frequently one-sided approach is apparent in quite a number of Youth Union branches. Instead of seeking new, interesting, varying methods of work a seemingly easier path of schematic, routine and paper work is being taken. It is one of the important tasks of all organs of the Youth Union to devote constant attention to eliminating these weak spots from your activities.

The younger generation is made up of boys and girls of different age groups and professions, who have varying life experience and knowledge, varying interests, hobbies and needs. All this must be taken into account in your work. It is essential to shape the Youth Union character with the broad participation of members. You know from your own experience that this is no easy matter. It is right that you intend to make an even greater contribution to the development of our economy. A significant place in the activities of the Youth Union organization must, however, belong also to culture, and to good entertainment, sports and physical education activities. All this has always been attributed to youth and will continue to belong to it.

We are pleased to know that the Youth Union has further strengthened and unfolded its activities over the past five years.

It is a strong organization which today is in active practice wherever young people live, work, study and learn. Within its ranks it associates almost one half of all our boys and girls. The task now is to seek and find a way to the whole of our youth.

That is why it is so important for you to know how working-class youth lives, what are the worries of the young people in plants; and so important for you to be able to solve, together with the plant management and trade union branch, their justified needs. This also applies fully to other sectors—to schools, youth and student hostels and other places.

What we especially appreciate is the role of the Youth Union organi-

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zation in forming a deep relationship of our boys and girls to the CPCz, in winning them over for active, conscious participation in the realization of its programme. It is good that you are bringing the history of the struggles of our Party, the aims of its policy and the principal stages of its development closer to the young generation. A large part of candidate members used to work, before their acceptance into the Party, in the SSM and we believe that the percentage of young Communists who have passed through the school of political and public work in the Youth Union will in future grow still further.

Comrades!

Dear Young Friends!

Much is expected of the Socialist Union of Youth at the present time.

We commend the activities of SSM in unfolding the working initiative of young people and promoting their participation in Socialist Labour Teams, over which the Youth Union organization has taken sponsorship. We appreciate the work you are doing in schools, apprentice training centres, scientific work places and offices. Much good has been done by Youth Union members in the armed forces during training for the defence of our homeland. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all this good work to the Socialist Union of Youth, to its members and to all young people. We wish wholeheartedly that out of the all-round activities of Youth Union organizations there will grow up conscious citizens of our state, who will devote their strength and abilities to the continuing prosperity of Socialism, to the struggle for the cause of peace and progress in the world.

After all, on the way in which our Youth Union organization will work depends to a considerable extent on the degree in which the younger, emerging generation will be prepared for the fulfilment of the tasks involved in the continuing development of Socialism. The Congress deliberations provide convincing evidence of the fact that you are aware of this responsibility, that you are seeking ways and means of further enriching and improving your activities. In this you will continue to enjoy our full support also in the future. The CPCz, our socialist state and the whole of society will devote even greater attention and care to the comprehensive development and involvement of our younger generation in the political and economic life of the country, in useful, valid work in all sectors. We are relying on the Socialist Union of Youth as a faithful co-fighter of our Party, as a fitting representative of our younger generation.

I wish the deliberations of the Third Congress of the Socialist Union of Youth, as well as your future work for the realization of its conclusions, much success—to the benefit of our young generation, to the benefit of our socialist homeland.

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Speech at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, against Nuclear War, Prague 21 June 1983

Esteemed Delegates and Guests, Dear Friends, Comrades!

I am very pleased to be able to welcome to our ancient city of Prague, you, the participants in the World Assembly for Peace and Life, against Nuclear War. On behalf of the Czechoslovak people, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and in my own name I welcome members of parliaments, governments, important scientists and cultural workers, representatives of social and political organizations, democratic and peace movements, public figures and church officials from all continents of our planet.

Since time immemorial our people have welcomed with open arms all who came to this country as its friends. They opened up their hearts to them, were generous to them and lavished their hospitality on them. More than anyone else, our country is welcoming you, the messengers of peace and resolute fighters against war.

If somewhere people are asking about the motives which have brought you to this Assembly, we can reply unequivocally—they were the noblest, the most humane of motives: to defend peace, to avert war, to preserve human civilization. Hundreds of millions of peace-loving people from all corners of the world see in you their ambassadors. They are confident that the Prague Assembly will help towards fulfilling their aspirations to live in peace, to bring up their children peacefully, to protect all that has been created by the previous generations.

Recent developments in the international situation are provoking, justifiably, the most serious concern. The policy of confrontation, pursued by the most reactionary, imperialist forces, has inflicted much evil upon mankind. We can witness many concrete positive results of the policy of détente disappearing before our eyes.

This policy was the fruit of the common effort of many countries and their leading representatives, the outcome of a realistic approach to the present situation in the world. It brought benefit to the peoples of all continents, irrespective of their different social systems. The aggravation of tension is causing serious damage, not only to the national economy but to all spheres of social life, to relations between states, nations and peoples.

Mankind is faced with problems the solution of which is linked to its future. They include the supply of energy resources, environmental protection; help to the young states of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their development; liquidation of famine, poverty and epidemics; the use of the world's oceans and of outer space for peaceful purposes. These urgent problems cannot be solved without the pooling of considerable material and spiritual resources, without constructive international cooperation. Naturally, the arms race and the various economic, commercial and financial embargoes do not create a suitable ground for peaceful coexistence and business-like co-operation.

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that hotbeds of tension and disturbing crisis situations exist in the world—tension which could be transformed into a devastating war. It is enough to mention that in the fewer than four decades which have passed since the Second World War, dozens of armed conflicts have taken place in different parts of the world, claiming a large number of victims.

Huge sums are being spent, not on the enrichment of the life of the people, but on its impoverishment and on endangering its very existence. Weapons of mass destruction continue to be manufactured and improved. The question with which the nations of the whole world have been faced ever since the discovery of nuclear energy—namely, whether this force will be used for the benefit or for the destruction of man—is becoming increasingly urgent. The peaceful uses of nuclear energy are opening up extensive opportunities and prospects for mankind. However, this energy can also be abused for endangering or completely destroying our civilization. We must note with profound concern that in the country which was the first to make the nuclear bomb, and which is the only state to have actually used this terrible weapon, there are forces, even today, which look upon it as a deterrent, as a means of pursuing their interests and of gaining control over the world.

Representatives of the military-industrial complex in a number of countries increasingly influence important instruments of political and economic power. There is a growing risk of a new round of the arms race being set in motion at an even faster rate.

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We, in Czechoslovakia, together with peoples in many other countries, are concerned especially about the situation in Europe. We do not underestimate the danger in the other parts of the world, but Europe is a continent where two big wars were sparked off in this century, and their flames soon engulfed other parts of the world as well. A similar danger exists today, because a tremendous destructive potential is already, now, concentrated on our continent. By the decision of NATO, this potential is to be increased still further with the deployment of new US missiles and nuclear means in West European countries.

Even the most thunderous propaganda cannot conceal the fact that this dangerous course is directed against the socialist countries which stand firmly and consistently on the side of peace.

Anyone believing that the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Western Europe would remain without due reaction from those against whom these weapons are to be aimed would be guilty of a tragic mistake. In the recent Soviet Government statement it was said with utmost clarity and emphasis that the Soviet Union and its allies would be forced to face up to the increased threat with measures that would create an effective counter-balance. The Czechoslovak Government, and all our people, have fully identified themselves with this statement.

There is no doubt that an escalation of the arms race would bring nobody any good. Its only result could be that peace in Europe and elsewhere in the world would be even more delicate. There would be an even greater danger that the accumulated means of destruction would actually be used.

Socialist Czechoslovakia, like the other states of the socialist community, consistently defends the view that in the present-day world the goal of peace, greater security for all states and political and economic stability is not achieved by efforts to change or upset the present balance of forces. Nor can a solution be sought in restoring this balance at great risk by a new stockpiling of weapons. The only viable choice is the maintenance of the existing balance and its gradual reduction.

The thesis, "if you want peace, prepare for war" is basically inhuman and wrong. It is in contradiction to all historical experience. However, even today we come across a similar approach, intended to mask the real nature of the policy of confrontation and aggravation of international tension. It is designed to take the edge off the opposition of public opinion to the different doctrines of the viability of waging a nuclear war openly referred to by representatives of the military-industrial complex.

Anyone in his right mind will find it difficult to see the logic of the

allegation that no serious talks on disarmament or on the implementation of the measures concerned can be started until after new, even more ominous means of mass destruction have been manufactured and introduced into the arsenals of the US and NATO armed forces. Whoever intends to disarm must seek ways leading not to more rivalry in "catching up", or to increased armament but, on the contrary, to its step-by-step reduction. The potentialities and advantages of social systems cannot be demonstrated by the ability to manufacture more sophisticated, more terrifying means of mass extermination but by showing who can ensure improved conditions for people's peaceful, happier and better lives, who can create new values and who can cope with burning problems.

Governments bear a great deal of responsibility for the kind of course the world will take. The conviction that these are all issues of immediate concern for every human being keeps gaining ground. Inevitably then, honest people sincerely concerned about the preservation of peace are increasingly resolute in standing up to the threat of war and to continued armament. In many countries, the anti-war movement has developed into a powerful social force exercising a strong influence over political affairs. Its voice resounds with increasing force and emphasis, reverberating with growing urgency in the meeting halls of parliaments. Not even governments can afford to ignore it.

It is our wish that the Assembly we are opening today should also contribute to the common struggle for the cause of peace throughout the world. The results of your deliberations may have a significant impact on future developments in the world. This is a time of crucial decisions on whether mankind will go on sliding dangerously towards the brink of nuclear destruction or whether common sense will prevail. The question is whether we can prove the old, frequently repeated truth, namely, that in the presence of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction there is no reasonable alternative for mutual relationships among countries other than peaceful coexistence. The only acceptable, negotiable road to dealing with outstanding, disputed problems is the road of negotiation with due respect for the justified interests of all the countries involved, in particular the principle of equal security for each of them.

In spite of the gravity of the situation all of us are faced with today, we believe that there is still time to take the steps necessary for making sure that the world will follow a course of confidence-building, a course of mutually advantageous co-operation and lessening of political and military tension rather than one of the dangerous spiral of escalation. It

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is imperative to do our best to avert the danger of war regardless of whether a global or a limited, a major or a minor war is meant.

The Czechoslovak people feel proud of the honour of being host country to an event as important as the World Assembly for Peace and Life, against Nuclear War. They sincerely support the struggle waged by the forces of peace; they support all that contributes to averting the threat of war. This unambiguous, resolute stand arises from historical experience dearly paid for by our people, my own generation included.

Situated in the middle of Europe, our country has often in the past been the scene of wars waged in the continent of Europe. The Crusades, as well as the trials and tribulations of the Thirty Years War marked the history of the nations of Czechoslovakia. Perhaps this is what accounts for the work of the 17th century Czech thinker and educationalist Jan Amos Komenský—Comenius—being imbued with ideas of resistance to war in favour of a life in peace for mankind. Comenius presented the politicians of his time with an appeal, supremely topical today, exhorting them to pursue not war aims, but peace for all nations, and to bring up the young generation in that spirit.

Our people have had their fill of the suffering caused by two world wars. The tens of millions of Second World War casualties included more than 360,000 Czechoslovak citizens who never returned from the battlefields, from Nazi prisons and concentration camps, or who lost their lives in the resistance at home, struggling against the occupiers.

The destruction of Lidice and dozens more such communities in our country continues to be an ever-topical symbol of the atrocities of fascism and the ravages of war. In order to make sure that such horrors are never again repeated we must never forget the words spoken by Czechoslovakia's national hero, Julius Fučík, "People, I loved you, be on guard!" To us, that passionate appeal in defence of freedom and peace remains a lasting, binding commitment.

Our people regard life in peace as the supreme value, being well aware, at the same time, that peace has to be defended and its preservation actively and consistently fought for. This purpose is amply served by our country's foreign policy as stipulated by the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which says, in particular: "We wish to live in peace and friendship with all nations of the world, and to contribute to peaceful coexistence and good relations among countries with different social systems".

Living up to the meaning of that constitutional provision as an expression of our people's supreme desire requires, in our view, engagement in a consistent, active struggle side by side with the world's forces of

peace, democracy and progress. We strive sincerely to achieve that aim in co-operation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. That is also the aim of the proposals adopted at last January's session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee meeting in Prague. The proposals have enjoyed broad support from the world public as well as lively interest and understanding shown by representatives of a number of countries. The proposals are a confirmation of our countries' readiness and determination to prevent the situation in the world deteriorating any further, to make the sense of reality prevail in relations among countries, to promote a feeling of responsibility towards the people of one's own country and towards the rest of mankind.

We regard those proposals as a sound, constructive basis for reaching the much-desired turning point in international developments. The proposals are based on consistent respect for the justified interests of all countries, without offering unilateral advantages to any one side. The socialist countries have always stressed—as they do today—their readiness to judge and discuss any proposals that respect principles generally accepted and confirmed many times in the past, especially the principle of equal security for all countries. Unfortunately, the Warsaw Treaty peace initiative has so far met with no response from the NATO member countries. Nor has NATO taken any stand on the salient proposal for the conclusion of a Treaty on the Mutual Non-use of Military Force and on the Preservation of Peaceful Relations.

We wish to join wholeheartedly with all those who demand that at the present time everyone should avoid doing anything that would further complicate today's already complicated situation.

It is imperative to prevent any escalation of tension, to strengthen international stability, to seek ways and means of ensuring lasting peace and the abatement of the danger of war. On behalf of the Czechoslovak people, let me express the hope that this is what your Assembly will also contribute to.

Esteemed Delegates and Guests, Dear Friends, Comrades!

We have met here in the capital of our country as people of different political, ideological and religious convictions. All of us are inhabitants of this planet of ours, for thousands of years tilled and cultivated by man's skilful hands, a planet capable of providing bread and happiness for all people. We must save it from impending catastrophe. It is our fervent wish and endeavour, too, that our children, grandchildren, the

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future generations may live, work and enjoy themselves on earth in peace.

Anyone who would dare start a nuclear war that would destroy all civilization and human life deserves nothing but contempt and condemnation.

A happy life on earth can only be built in peace. Our programme envisages not maternal sorrow, but the happiness of mothers and joy for their children.

Dear friends, in this country you are guests of the Czechoslovak people. I want you to be able to carry the most beautiful of impressions away with you.

In conclusion, allow me to convey my sincere thanks to all those who take credit for sending this broad and representative forum off to a successful start.

From the bottom of my heart let me wish your deliberations success in fulfilling the hopes that peace will be saved and preserved, not only for the present generations, but also for those yet to come.

10.

Peace: The Ideal of Socialism

Article published by *World Marxist Review*

June 1983

Mankind is now going through one of the most difficult periods of its history. It was repeatedly said in the past that the world was nearing a crucial crossroads at which the direction of its subsequent development would be determined: whether it would be the way of peace, mutually advantageous international co-operation and joint constructive solution of vital and difficult problems facing mankind at the present stage, or the way of confrontation, conflict, feverish armament, growing tensions and a gradual slide to the dangerous point of a world nuclear war. But never before has the crossroads been so close, never before have the peoples been so starkly and stridently faced with the key problem of choosing their way as they are just now.

That is because the struggle between the forces striving for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and the imperialist aggressive forces, which make no secret at all of their hostile attitude to the relaxation of international tension has been exacerbated to an unprecedented degree and invested with global dimensions. The acts of the aggressive US circles and their closest allies testify to their urge to establish world domination, to gain military-strategic superiority over the socialist states, to slow down the process of progressive social change in the world and to suppress the national liberation movement.

The mounting aggressiveness of imperialism tends increasingly to complicate the situation and raise international tension. This is a source of growing anxiety and apprehension among all peace-loving people throughout the world. They are ever more convinced of the need for actively resisting the dangerous line of imperialist policy. There is a

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growing understanding everywhere that all the progressive, democratic and anti-war forces must consistently and resolutely act to ensure peace and strengthen international security, oppose the policy of strength and confrontation, insist on an end to the spiralling arms race and on effective measures in disarmament, on peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and a lowering of tension in relations between them.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the danger posed to peace by the policy pursued by the incumbent USA Administration and its supporters in other imperialist states. At the same time, there is a need to strengthen the conviction among the broadest masses of people, of world public opinion, of all those who are aware of the hazards of a nuclear war for our civilization and for human life itself, that the peoples are not impotent in the face of this danger and imperialism can no longer arbitrarily decide on their destinies. In the past, there were no forces capable of staying the hand of those who wanted to start wars, who stood to gain from them and make fortunes on them, but in our epoch the situation has undergone a radical change. Today, the advocates of war are opposed by the socialist community, the national liberation movement and mighty social forces in many countries. The struggle for peace, for averting an armed clash rests on a broad and solid foundation.

Czechoslovakia fully shares the approach formulated in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries which they adopted at the Prague meeting of their Political Consultative Committee in January 1983. It says: "However difficult the situation in the world, there are possibilities for overcoming the dangerous stage in international relations. The present course of events can and must be halted, and their development charted in a direction meeting the aspirations of the peoples." Everything depends on how resolutely, consistently and purposefully all the progressive, anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving forces will act.

The Soviet Union and other socialist community countries are in the van of the peace forces throughout the world. Their consistent and peaceable political line and their resolute struggle to avert war have helped not only the peoples but also the ruling circles of some countries to become fully aware that the policy of Socialism is a policy of peace, that the socialist states do not need war, that they do not want war, and that they are not preparing for one.

The struggle to preserve and strengthen peace, based on respect and the rights and interests of all the peoples, became pivotal to the whole

in the balance of forces in the world arena. The potential of the socialist community is growing. The international positions of the states which have opted for the socialist way of development are being consolidated. The influence of the non-aligned movement is increasing. The world revolutionary process is developing. The activity of the international communist and working-class movement, of the working class, of all the working people and the anti-war peace circles in the non-socialist countries is rising. All of this goes to create favourable conditions for a greater scope of the struggle for ensuring peace and for the independence of the nations and social progress.

There is good ground to say that in the 1970s both the individual socialist states and their community as a whole developed successfully. That was a period in which the positions of Socialism were markedly consolidated, in which many peoples made gains in the struggle to strengthen their national freedom and independence, and in which there was a growth of the forces of peace and social progress.

The positive changes in the international situation met the interests of all peoples, had their broad and active support, and exerted a profound influence on world development. That was precisely formulated by General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov in his speech at the CPSU CC Plenary Meeting in November 1982, when he said: "It is our profound conviction that the 1970s, which were marked by détente, were not, as some imperialist leaders now assert, a casual episode in mankind's difficult history. No, the policy of détente is in no sense a past stage. It has the future before it."

However, every step aimed to improve the international situation and for détente in relations between countries made it necessary to overcome fierce resistance on the part of the most reactionary aggressive forces of imperialism, especially US imperialism. Being blinded by anti-communism, and hatred for Socialism, for the Soviet Union in the first place, they were not reconciled with the policy of peaceful coexistence and did not abandon their line of confrontation. These circles openly hampered the development of mutually advantageous international co-operation and détente. This provided fresh confirmation in practice of the thesis formulated in the CPSU CC reports at the Leninist party's latest congresses that détente cannot and does not in any sense invalidate or modify the laws of the class struggle, and that not everything in international matters depends on the socialist states and their friends alone.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the aggressive circles of the United States and other imperialist powers sharply stepped up their activity.

Their political line, aimed at confrontation, was especially intensified with the inauguration of the Reagan Administration in Washington. They have been ever more openly attacking the principles of peaceful coexistence, which in the age of nuclear missiles and other sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, constitute the only reasonable and acceptable basis for developing relations between states with different social systems.

The feverish arms race being conducted by these circles for the purpose of upsetting the military-strategic equilibrium which has taken shape in the world and to obtain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole poses a grave threat to international stability and erodes it. In order to vindicate its extremely dangerous and aggressive foreign policy line, reaction has mounted and is tirelessly fanning in the mass media used to manipulate public opinion an unprecedentedly far-flung anti-socialist campaign; it has started psychological warfare. This "crusade" has been actively joined—and, in fact, orchestrated—by the leading spokesmen of the imperialist powers, the leaders of the United States in the first place.

Publicly discussed and advertised scenarios and doctrines of the various imperialist strategists have become a component part of the anti-socialist crusade. They have considered the possibility and feasibility of a "limited nuclear war", a "protracted nuclear conflict", a "first incapacitating strike", a "pre-emptive, or preventive strike", and so on. This irresponsible propaganda is designed to break down resistance of the broadest possible strata to the idea of a nuclear war, and to get them to accept the idea that such a war is thinkable, which is why, the argument runs, there is a need to accept the prospect of it.

These absurd, anti-humanistic and utterly false and lying doctrines and scenarios must be exposed with the utmost vigour. Prominent scientists and experts from many countries have convincingly argued that if a nuclear conflict broke out, it would have disastrous consequences for mankind. Everyone would stand to lose in a war that would bring destruction and devastation on a gigantic scale and would jeopardize the very existence of whole nations.

That is why the socialist community countries have so resolutely declared that a nuclear clash cannot be allowed to occur. In the context of international relations, no task is now more important and urgent for the nations and states than to avert the threat of a nuclear war in any form or version.

That is a difficult task because imperialism continues to be a strong adversary. Despite the advancing and deepening general crisis, which

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permeates every sphere of life in the capitalist society, its most aggressive circles still have sizeable material resources, a great economic, scientific and technical potential, and an impressive military force.

Nevertheless, the fighters against the threat of war proceed from realistic potentialities. Life daily provides evidence that, in their blind hatred for Socialism, the bellicose imperialist circles keep setting themselves goals which it is beyond their powers to attain.

For one thing, they cannot hope to block the successful development of the socialist community states or to stem the spread of socialist ideas throughout the world. Policies designed to do so did not bring any success to their architects even in the past, when the balance of forces was still a long way from equilibrium. Today, an even greater fiasco is in store for them. Nor have they secured the desired results from their stubborn urge to suppress the national liberation movement, to undermine the ongoing process of progressive social change in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to divert the working class and all the other working people in the capitalist countries from the struggle for their rights and for social justice. The anti-imperialist, national liberation, progressive and peace-loving forces have succeeded in frustrating the schemes of imperialism and beating back its onslaught.

No good is in store for the peoples from the US Administration's intention to tilt the existing military-strategic equilibrium between the United States and the USSR, between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries, through a feverish build-up of armaments. This equilibrium, which it took a period of years to shape, now objectively helps to preserve international stability and reduce the danger of an outbreak of war. That is why the Soviet Union, the other socialist community countries and all sober and realistically-minded political leaders firmly reject the strivings of the United States and some NATO countries to upset that equilibrium. The USSR's highest representatives have repeatedly declared most firmly that everything will be done to preserve this equilibrium and that the policy based on an urge to secure military superiority over the Soviet Union has no prospects before it. It is unrealistic both on a global scale and in the individual regions, especially in Europe, where the issue is a most acute and urgent one.

The substance of the socialist community countries' consistent peace policy is that, even in the present situation, a sense of realism and common sense should prevail in the relations between states with different social systems. This was clearly stated by Yuri Andropov at the November 1982 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC, when he said: "The CPSU is against the controversy of ideas being converted into a confron-

tation between the states and peoples, against weapons and a readiness to use them being set up as a yardstick for the potentialities of social systems."

The socialist community countries have countered the war hysteria being fanned by Washington with a calm and reasonable tone, with constructive proposals reaffirming the consistency of our peace policy and its invariable aim of averting the threat of a world nuclear conflict. This firm and clear-cut line was once again provided with lucid documentary confirmation in the Political Declaration adopted by Prague. In it, the socialist states clearly formulated their positions on the cardinal problems of the present international situation. They emphasized the urgent need for effective steps to prevent any further worsening of the situation, to halt the arms race, while it was still possible to do so, and to go on to disarmament. Having reaffirmed the validity of their earlier initiatives on the solution of outstanding international problems, they put forward new, exceptionally important proposals, whose adoption would reduce the danger of war and help to strengthen peace and détente in Europe.

That was also the spirit in which the Warsaw Treaty's Foreign Ministers Committee held its meeting in April to discuss further measures for implementing the plans proposed in the Prague Declaration. The participants also considered practical matters relating to negotiations with NATO and other states on the key problems in strengthening peace and international security, and in disarmament. They stressed once again the importance of a dialogue for solving these problems, extending co-operation and improving the situation on the continent and in all the other regions of the world. They reaffirmed the Warsaw Treaty states' readiness to continue and elaborate such a dialogue.

Czechoslovakia is taking an active part in implementing the socialist community countries' joint peace programme. The fundamental directive for our foreign policy at the present stage consists of the decisions of the 16th Congress of the CP Czechoslovakia, which voiced full support for the foreign policy line of the Soviet Communists' 26th Congress and emphasized our belief that "organic continuation and development of the CPSU's Peace Programme is a reliable and effective way of solving the most burning and urgent problems of contemporary international life. At the same time, we regard it as a concentrated expression of our own vital interests, of the needs and goals of the whole Czechoslovak people in the sphere of international relations". Accordingly, the 16th Congress of CPCz said: "We shall strive to realize all the peace initiatives jointly worked out and being implemented by the socialist countries."

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The whole of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy activity is based on the awareness that our strength, and so also the guarantee of successful solution of individual problems, is predetermined above all by the socialist community countries' solid unity and close co-operation. To strengthen this unity has invariably been the main concern and central task of the activity of our party and the socialist state in the international arena.

The cornerstone of this policy is sound friendship, alliance and all-round and developing co-operation with the USSR. They provide a reliable guarantee, which has stood the test of history, of Czechoslovakia's national freedom, state independence, and sovereignty. These relations have provided the Czechoslovak working people with solid support both in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and in building Socialism. They are the source of confidence that our socialist homeland will continue to be a happy home for its peoples, that it will continue to develop and flourish. The citizens of Czechoslovakia fully support this firm foreign policy orientation, and regard it as the most reliable prerequisite for ensuring favourable external conditions for the life of their country's peoples in peace, for the tranquil and creative work in realizing the plans for further development of the socialist society.

In the joint efforts aimed at realizing the socialist states' Peace Programme, our foreign policy makes extensive use of Czechoslovakia's participation in the work of various international bodies and of its well-developed bilateral contacts with many states. Czechoslovakia is active in the United Nations, where many important recommendations helping to strengthen world peace and security have been adopted over the past few years, thanks to the constructive stand of the socialist community countries. In this context, we fully share the thesis formulated in the Warsaw Treaty countries' Prague Political Declaration concerning the need to enhance the role of the United Nations in international affairs as an authoritative forum for concerting the actions of states designed to strengthen peace and international security and to help solve vital world-wide problems.

Czechoslovakia is involved in a number of negotiations on disarmament and, together with the other socialist community countries, is making a contribution to the search of ways to end the arms race and to adopt effective measure to liquidate the stockpile of weapons. As a direct participant in the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, it has actively backed the socialist countries' efforts to achieve an agreement that would help stabilize the situation on our continent, while preserving the existing balance of forces

and with respect for the principle of equal security of all the parties. At the Madrid meeting of the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, we are bending our effort to ensuring that a well-argued call is issued for solving the urgent problems of disarmament, reducing the risk of armed confrontation and resuming the process of détente in Europe.

Unfortunately, the course of all these talks, in which Czechoslovakia is a direct participant, once again made it clear that the United States, supported by its NATO allies, has pursued the very opposite goals. Again and again we witnessed its urge to obtain one-sided advantages at the expense of the socialist community states and to impose conditions that would put us at a disadvantage, in a position of inequality, so weakening our security and defence capability. It will easily be realized that such an approach cannot help to hammer out any agreement.

In order to strengthen the broad, anti-imperialist front of joint action by progressive, democratic and peace forces, Czechoslovakia has been developing friendly ties and fruitful co-operation with many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We have expressed unconditional solidarity with their urge to secure genuine national freedom and independence, and have resolutely rejected and condemned the imperialist policy of starting local conflicts, a policy of meddling and intervention. We support their yearning for economic and social progress and their hard struggle for complete liberation from imperialist domination. We have established sound internationalist, friendly relations above all with the states that have taken the socialist way of development.

Czechoslovakia highly appreciates the role of the non-aligned movement in the struggle against imperialism and the threat of war, for peace, for an end to the arms race, for détente, and for the development of normal relations between states. Its role was once again expressed in the final documents of the recent Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, in India, in which the non-aligned states once again confirmed their urge to take an active stand for peace, and voiced their grave alarm over the sharpening of the international situation and the arms race.

In accordance with the policy of peaceful coexistence, we want to go on developing good relations and mutually advantageous co-operation with all the capitalist countries wishing to do so. This obviously means equitable relations, in which there is no room for any form of pressure or discrimination, for any attempts to interfere in our internal affairs. Positive results have already been achieved in contacts with a number of

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Western states in the light of this stand, and this helps to strengthen peace and international security.

The might of the socialist community rests both on its unity and cohesion, and on the strength, solidity and successful development of the socialist system in each of its member countries. Here, socialist Czechoslovakia, the working people of our country, also have an active balance. In the period of socialist construction, the Czechoslovak people have done a great deal under the leadership of the CPCz for the prosperity of their homeland. Today, Czechoslovakia is a mature socialist state with a developed economy, a high level of education, good living standards and comprehensive social security for its citizens. Economic growth, rising material well-being and consolidation of the working people's power have become characteristic features of our way of life. In a historically brief period, we have succeeded in building up a solid material and technical basis for the new society. Much money has gone into building and modernization of the national economy and into the development of science and technology.

Our success in developing our socialist homeland simultaneously put on us obligations for the future. In the 1980s, we have to implement our plans in much more difficult conditions which make heightened demands on us. Fulfilment of the directives of the 16th Congress of the CPCz and an accelerated switch of the national economy to intensive development have become an exceptionally important and urgent task.

When we speak with well-justified pride about the Czechoslovak working people's successes in socialist construction, we do not mean that there have been no impediments, difficulties or mistakes on our way. The Communists, the working class and all the other working people of Czechoslovakia could draw on the wealth of experience of the Soviet people and the peoples of the other fraternal countries in building and defending Socialism. Yet in tackling our new tasks, we had to go through many a trial, to correct mistakes and to suffer reverses. It would be incompatible with our Marxist-Leninist world view to assert just now that all our difficulties are behind us, and that everything has already been solved. But it is safe to say that our socialist system is a healthy and viable organism which has demonstrated its strength in the most difficult trials, and that it has the future before it.

In the past, the peoples of Czechoslovakia have repeatedly had to carry the heavy burden of trial by war, and they are well aware from their own experience of the price of peace and realize that they have been able to enjoy its fruits for nearly four decades now only thanks to the principled policy of the USSR and the other socialist states. Our people

are aware that this is the only reason why they have been able to achieve so much in the building of Socialism. They know that their creative work and their very life depend on whether peace throughout the world can be ensured in the future as well.

That is why Czechoslovak citizens have watched recent international developments with understandable anxiety. They have been most incensed with the policy of the present US Administration, which has sought, with the support or tacit consent of some of its allies, to drastically undermine the positive results of the process of détente in Europe.

Realization of the plans to deploy several hundred new US medium-range missiles on the territory of some NATO states in Western Europe would have dire consequences. The main purpose of such a step—and the United States would like to make a start on it even this year—would be to change the equilibrium of forces existing in Europe and to obtain military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty States as a whole. The “interim agreement” which President Reagan proposed in March of this year in an effort to create the illusion that Washington was prepared for serious talks makes absolutely no difference, because the goal of the United States is still not to seek an agreement helping to strengthen security, but to deploy new missiles in Europe, even if only a smaller number of them.

This dangerous intention has been resolutely condemned in the Prague Declaration by Czechoslovakia, together with the other Warsaw Treaty countries, for it would inevitably have profoundly negative consequences for the whole situation on the continent, for the whole complex of relations between European states. Realization of that plan would further destabilize the political and military-strategic situation and lead to a further build-up of destructive weapons arsenals. That would make peace in Europe and in other regions even more fragile.

In view of this, the Soviet Union has come forward with a number of concrete, constructive proposals whose implementation could help to avert the danger threatening the peoples of Europe and the whole world. Czechoslovakia has given full support to these proposals.

Developments over the last few months have shown once again that the socialist community states' peaceful foreign policy is correct. Its basic strategic line does not need to be modified in any way. On the contrary, the exacerbated international situation resulting from the aggressive turn in the actions of imperialism shows even more clearly the importance and urgent need of the socialist countries' peace initiatives. Our

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line is not influenced by any situational, short-term or tactical considerations. For us the ensuring of peace and the peoples' right to independence and social progress, peaceful coexistence, fruitful co-operation and disarmament are not propaganda slogans but an object of constant concern and an invariable objective.

Our joint Peace Programme is correct, viable and profoundly attractive because it is a line which, first, expresses the vital interests not only of the socialist nations but also of the broadest strata of the population on all the continents, and second—which is equally important—it is realistic and true, because it is based on an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis of the whole contemporary situation, and on the crucial motive forces and main trends in world development.

In the international situation that has taken shape, it is necessary to act with even greater initiative and consistency in implementing this peace policy line so as to win for it the support of the peoples, of the broadest masses of the population and the anti-war forces of the whole world. After all, this has a bearing on problems that affect everyone's life. That is why more and more people in every region of the world are joining in active struggle against the threat of war. An objective assessment of the contemporary stage of international development shows that the growing threat of war caused by the policy of imperialism is paralleled by a strengthening, mobilization and activation of the forces which can prevent war.

There is increasing evidence that Washington's present line is a source of growing doubts, apprehensions and reservations among many realistically-minded political and public leaders in the capitalist world, including the United States. Even the governments of some NATO countries do not risk supporting it. They, too, have a growing conviction that, far from strengthening security, this line could, in fact, lead to a nuclear holocaust. That is why they have spoken out in favour of continuing the dialogue with the socialist states and of constructive negotiations on disarmament.

The mounting threat of war has generated, virtually throughout the world, including the United States itself, the emergence, spread and growth of numerous movements opposing nuclear weapons, the step-up of the arms race and the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe. In some countries, the anti-war tide is truly nation-wide and has a considerable influence on the political atmosphere.

Since the beginning of this year, the mass protest movement against the plans to deploy new US missiles has acquired unprecedented scope in the Western European countries. Consequently, life itself provides evi-

dence that their peoples are aware of the danger posed by these intentions.

It is becoming clear that by spreading war hysteria, so as to justify the adoption of new arms programmes, the US Administration has generated apprehensions and fear of war both at home and mainly in Western Europe. West European public opinion is highly worried by the fact that new US weapons capable of triggering a nuclear catastrophe are to be deployed on the territory of a number of NATO countries, with Washington, instead of the governments of the countries concerned, having the final say on the use of such weapons. And that against the background of the blatant declarations coming from the United States about the various scenarios for nuclear war and the prospects for starting it.

The on-going anti-war struggle is, of course, expressed not only in mass protest demonstrations. It tends increasingly to involve the political parties, public bodies and movements, which frequently differ in ideological tenets, views and convictions, and take divergent attitudes to many issues. But they are all united by their common concern to avert war and end the arms race. In this struggle, the Communists have a solid tradition, which has stood the test of long experience. In the van of the revolutionary working-class movement, they have always opposed the aggressive policy of imperialism. Under the leadership of the World Peace Council, the peace movement, which emerged a few years after the Second World War in protest action against the atomic bomb, is opposing the threat of war and pressing for stronger peace and disarmament. In the face of the mounting tension and the growing threat of war, rank-and-file Social Democrats are taking a more active part in the anti-war struggle, and there is a definite positive development in the stand of the social democratic parties and of the Socialist International. Numerous other public organizations, well-known public figures, scientists, masters of art, representatives of various social groups, and even retired generals from the armies of NATO countries have joined in the broad anti-war tide. Masses of religious people of various denominations are active participants in this struggle. Some members of the church hierarchy have also come out against the war and for an end to the arms race.

All these forces constitute an important political and moral potential in the struggle for peace, for averting a nuclear catastrophe. The governments of some imperialist states, including the US Administration, can no longer ignore them. The vigour, mass basis and political influence of the anti-war movement have been growing and gaining in strength with the rise of tensions, the step-up of the arms race and the increase in the danger of war.

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The long-term political importance of the anti-war movement lies not only in the fact that it brings real pressure to bear on governments and parties, so blocking political and military measures which make the outbreak of war more likely. It also has an important positive role to play in showing the broadest masses of people that the danger stems from the aggressive line of the United States and some other NATO countries, which have propelled the arms race and are sharpening tensions. At the same time, it helps the masses to comprehend that the hazardous line of Washington and its allies is countered by the socialist community countries' Peace Programme and their tireless demonstration in practice of their highly responsible approach to the preservation of peace and of their great readiness to carry on the struggle to avert a nuclear war. Even the most aggressive circles of imperialism sense the growing importance of the anti-war movement. It is becoming an impediment to the realization of their intentions. These circles spend much money in order to reduce and undermine its strength, its ability to act and its authority, and to smear its intentions. In complete accord with well-known and oft-used recipes, they have been spreading mendacious and absurd claims about the anti-war movement being "an instrument in the hands of Moscow and world communism". They have spared no effort to prevent this broad movement from acting in unison and to blunt its anti-imperialist edge.

The peace-loving peoples of the world want to see the potentialities of the anti-war movement fully developed, to enable it to make the utmost use of its political influence and of its weight, to make that influence ever more tangible. If it is to do so, its participants should, irrespective of their various ideologies, world views and religious convictions, have a correct understanding of the sources of the war danger, so as effectively to resist it and act together, in concert and honest co-operation. It is necessary to expose the dangerous role of the aggressive policy of imperialism not in order to score propaganda points, but above all to give the anti-war movement the right orientation—against the principal danger facing the world today.

That is an urgent, serious and also highly difficult task, because the anti-war movement itself is broad and heterogeneous. A great part in solving this problem belongs to the numerous international conferences, meetings and rallies held within the framework of the struggle against the danger of war, for stronger peace, for disarmament and greater trust. The Czechoslovak government and working people expect the World Assembly "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War", which is to be held in Prague in June, to make a positive contribution to these efforts.

The Czechoslovak people, the organs of our socialist state, the public organizations of the National Front, work collectives and individuals fully support this meeting and are closely following the preparations for it. At the Prague forum, we want to create favourable conditions for a fruitful and constructive dialogue in the course of which its participants could, on the basis of equality, give an objective assessment to all the views and proposals aimed to attain the common goal—to prevent war and preserve peace.

We expect the results of the Assembly largely to help find a common platform for action acceptable to all those who oppose nuclear war and want a life in peace. The difficult international situation and especially the dangerous plans for deploying new US missiles in Western Europe, whose implementation could have far-reaching consequences for future developments on the continent, enjoin the participants in the anti-war movement to raise their struggle to a new stage. The point now is for everyone who is aware of the threat posed by these plans to join efforts in preventing their realization and to increase their pressure for reaching an agreement that would help to strengthen peace and ensure the equal security of all the states.

Even more effective forms of struggle need to be found. Alongside the staging of mass demonstrations, the formulation of slogans and the passing of resolutions, there is evidently a need to try to increase the political weight of anti-war actions, so as to make the movement an ever more effective and important political force, whose actions have a more potent and immediate influence on the stand of the individual governments.

We are aware that these are not simple demands, that the task is not an easy one. We hope, however, that the Prague Assembly will fulfil its role, give the anti-war movement a fresh impetus and further enhance its influence on world development. We are convinced that similar hopes are being pinned on the Prague Assembly by every active participant in the struggle for peace, against war, for disarmament, for peaceful coexistence, and for normal relations and fruitful co-operation between states with different social systems.

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Article on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, the culmination of the National Liberation Struggle, and the Liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army August 1984

The fortieth anniversary of victory over fascism and the end of World War II is approaching. That war, which was the biggest and most cruel ever and was provoked by bitter rivalries between imperialist powers and by their anti-Soviet policy, caused humanity immense suffering and losses. The aggression unleashed by Hitler's Germany and its allies was aimed at destroying the freedom, independence and sovereignty of many states and went hand in hand with unprecedented terror, the flouting of the rights of whole nations and their enslavement.

The victory over these forces of the blackest reaction achieved by a broad anti-fascist coalition of peoples and states exacted immense effort and gigantic resources. The Soviet Union played the decisive part of the defeat of fascism. The world's first socialist state carried the brunt of the war and made the greatest sacrifices to bring about victory. In fighting for their freedom and independence, all nations derived strength and support primarily from the heroic struggle of the Soviet people. The severe test to which the Soviet Union was put fully demonstrated the invincible strength of its socialist social system and Marxist-Leninist ideas. Great historical credit is due to the Land of Soviets for saving civilization from fascist barbarity.

The results of World War II marked a further stage in the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The anti-fascist struggle, during which the masses went through serious political schooling, was profoundly

democratic, popular and anti-imperialist. The war unmasked imperialism in the eyes of the masses, among whom socialist ideals struck increasingly deep roots and who showed a growing desire for a progressive reshaping of post-war social relations. Radical changes took place in the balance of class forces, both in individual countries and internationally. In the forties, the national liberation struggle in a number of European and Asian countries developed into social revolutions whose victory was the first step towards building a new society and forming the world socialist system.

After the war, the revolutionary processes begun by the struggle of nations to defeat fascism went deeper, acquiring a new dynamism and extending to various spheres of life. The world socialist system became a mighty force; its formation was the greatest revolutionary achievement since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This system is the mainstay of world social progress, the most dynamic economic and political force of society, a solid bulwark of international peace and security. The international communist and working class movement assumed vast proportions. The intensifying struggle for national liberation in Asian, African and Latin American countries gradually led to the disintegration and virtual abolition of imperialism's colonial system. There sprang up a number of new states intent on consolidating their political and economic independence. Some of them chose a socialist orientation. The sphere of imperialist domination in the world shrank substantially.

The results of World War II and the struggle of peoples for national liberation had and still have a considerable impact on the course of history. Reactionary imperialist forces refuse to resign themselves to the deep-going changes in favour of Socialism, democracy and progress that have come about. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, the causes of its outbreak and its character, course and results are coming to the fore in the bitter ideological struggle between capitalism and Socialism. Having joined in the crusade against the new system, a crusade launched primarily by the present US Administration, bourgeois propaganda is trying to exonerate imperialism from the blame for the outbreak of the world military conflagration which cost millions of lives. It distorts the meaning of the struggle of nations for freedom and progress, minimizes the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of Nazism and denies the fact that the revolutionary struggle of the masses in countries of Central and Southeastern Europe played a role of fundamental importance in establishing people's rule there.

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the historical truth, to study and generalize the experience of the anti-fascist struggle, drawing on it for energy to solve current problems and passing it on to younger generations as a lesson learnt at high cost. The memory of the enormous sacrifices made by humanity in the name of victory over Nazism binds the peoples, especially in this nuclear age, to prevent a new war, unite in the struggle for peace and foil the aggressive schemes of reactionary imperialist forces aimed at winning world domination. The lessons of World War II are also a warning to those who are trying to revive revanchism and questioning the post-war political organization of Europe as the basis for preserving peace on our continent.

Thus the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism is highly relevant to the international communist, democratic and national liberation movements, to the present-day struggle for peace and social progress in the world. The Communist Party of our country and the Czechoslovak people as a whole are well aware of the great significance of the coming anniversary.

These days, socialist Czechoslovakia is commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. Its origin, progress and results were inseparable from the previous development of the national liberation struggle of our people, from the whole anti-fascist resistance, the heroic struggle of the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War and the liberating mission of the Soviet Army.

The outstanding victories of the Soviet Armed Forces at Stalingrad and the Kursk Bulge were decisive turning points in World War II. They were carried forward by a powerful offensive of Soviet troops in 1944. Under their blows fascist domination in Europe began to collapse and so did the collaborationist regimes of the Nazi-occupied countries. The time came for a final settlement of accounts with Nazism. A further factor in this was the long-delayed opening of a second front in Western Europe in June 1944. However, it did not in the least alter the meaning of events showing that the Soviet Army was the main factor which decided the outcome of the war. Historical literature contains many indisputable facts proving this. The recent attempts of anti-Communist propaganda to misuse the anniversary of the landing of allied troops in France for its own ends run counter to the historical truth.

The great exploit of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the consistency and heroism of communists in the resistance movement contributed to the prestige of communist parties, gave rise to tremendous militancy among the working class and the masses in various countries and caused a powerful upsurge in their revolutionary energy. At the final

stages of the war, the struggle against the fascist invaders merged increasingly with the struggle for a just post-war settlement in the liberated countries.

The national liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks held a rightful place in that fight against Nazism. Our peoples, one of the early victims of fascist aggression, never resigned themselves to Nazi bondage; they continuously carried on a selfless struggle for the restoration of their national freedom and state sovereignty.

The Munich surrender and the subsequent liquidation of independent Czechoslovakia meant that the political concept of the ruling class, the Czech bourgeoisie, and its international political orientation on the Western powers had failed, for those powers had in the hour of crisis given Czechoslovakia to Hitler to further their own anti-Soviet plans. The working class and increasing sections of the working people gradually came to realize by experience that the bourgeoisie was unable to defend the people's interests and requirements, just as earlier it had been unable to ensure the country's economic and social progress. This led them to the conclusion that it was necessary to evolve a new political orientation and find new solutions to national and social problems.

The bourgeoisie discredited itself, both by capitulating when it was necessary to defend the interests of the people and the state, and as a consequence of the fact that many of its members agreed to collaborate openly with the invaders. True, another part of the bourgeoisie, the Western-orientated one, which had its centre in London and wanted to re-establish the Czechoslovak state in its pre-Munich form, still wielded a certain influence in the resistance movement.

On the whole, however, radical changes took place in the political leadership of our nations as they fought against fascism and for national liberation. The working class moved into a leading position. Its vanguard, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, whose leadership under Klement Gottwald was based in Moscow, became a recognized and decisive political force of the resistance, thanks to its principled policy in defending the republic and fighting the invaders.

The Nazis dominated a divided Czechoslovakia through the openly terrorist regime installed in Bohemia and Moravia, and the vassal, clerico-fascist authorities in Slovakia. The communists had to take account of the difference in conditions due to this situation and to choose corresponding tactics of resistance and forms of illegal activity. This necessitated the formation of two autonomous Party leaderships on the territory of the country adhering to a common strategy, and so the

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Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS) was formed in May 1939. Underground leading centres of the Party had to operate in the extremely difficult conditions of terror and persecution. The fascists persecuted them and succeeded in liquidating several of them both in the Czech lands and in Slovakia. However, the Party demonstrated its ability to re-establish its leadership.

The disintegration of the clerico-fascist regime in Slovakia was hastened by the Soviet Army's advance to the Slovak frontier. The Soviet example, the prospect of the approaching victory over fascism and, on the other hand, the regime's growing oppression of the people prompted them to evolve increasingly active forms of resistance, particularly partisan warfare. Under the impact of these external and internal factors, a revolutionary situation began to mature in Slovakia.

Early in August 1943, the fifth illegal central leadership of the CPS¹ met in session. On the strength of a realistic assessment of class and social forces and the level of the political consciousness and morale of the masses, the new leadership decided to begin preparations for a nationwide armed uprising. This called for concentration on ensuring the underground operation of a solid, united and efficient all-Slovak Party organization, capable of mobilizing and leading the people. The implementation of this guideline was decisive for the success of the uprising.

In planning the uprising, the CPS leadership considered that the order of the day was, for the time being, general democratic and not socialist tasks. It therefore worked to creatively apply in specific conditions Lenin's ideas about the dialectical interconnection of the democratic and the socialist revolutions, his idea that the struggle for political liberty and a democratic republic is one of the necessary stages in the struggle for the social revolution which will overthrow the bourgeois system. In preparing for the uprising, a special effort was made to combine the struggle for the restoration of the political independence and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia with the struggle for the just social and national demands of the workers and other working people. With these aims in view, preparations for the uprising were seen from the outset, not as purely military activity, but as mass revolutionary action by an armed people.

On the initiative of the CPS and in line with this programmatic concept, there gradually formed a broad anti-fascist front that was the political expression of an alliance of social forces willing to contribute actively to national liberation. The alliance included bourgeois resistance groups that saw the defeat of fascism as inevitable and wanted to take part in the restoration of the Czechoslovak state so as to secure a

dominant position in it for themselves. The National Front taking shape in this way comprised democratic, anti-fascist and patriotic forces declaring in spite of ideological and other differences that they were prepared to fight in common for the overthrow of Nazi rule.

In December 1943, an underground Slovak National Council (SNC) was established. It was the nation's resistance headquarters representing, along with the CPS, other major contingents of the liberation movement. The Council approved the programme for a national uprising worked out by the communists. The document went down in history as the 1943 Christmas Agreement, according to the time when it came into being. In it, the SNC announced its decision to eliminate the vassal clerico-fascist state by force and restore the Czechoslovak Republic on new political, social and national principles as a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks, free of the mistakes and miscalculations of pre-Munich capitalist Czechoslovakia. The decision also established the historical need to safeguard the vital interests of the Czech and Slovak peoples and the future of Czechoslovakia through alliance and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union. The main provisions of the programme reflected the legitimate national and social demands and aspirations of our peoples. The Christmas Agreement played a tremendous role in uniting and mobilizing the masses for the uprising and in strengthening their resolve to fight undeterred by sacrifices, no matter how heavy, for a new life fit for human beings in a liberated country.

It was a fact of key importance for the Slovak National Uprising that, thanks to the communists, the SNC was able to form in time armed units which merged into a mass partisan movement, and to involve in the uprising the greater part of the army of the clerico-fascist regime, in which anti-fascist patriotic forces won decisive influence.

Another fact very important for the uprising and the national liberation struggle which ensued was that underground revolutionary National Committees were set up as organs of the revolution and of future people's power even while preparations for the uprising were being made. In the course of subsequent revolutionary changes the National Committees developed into an important social force and then became the most important and inseparable component of our political system. Their significance as organs of the socialist state and the basic instrument of socialist democracy and people's rule has been growing in Czechoslovakia.

Under the impact of the imminent defeat of Nazism and the consolidation of the revolutionary trend of the anti-fascist resistance, the national liberation struggle began in the second half of 1944 to develop

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into armed uprisings against the Nazi invaders in a number of countries. Early in the summer of that year, the revolutionary situation deepened in Slovakia as well. The power structures of the clerico-fascist state were falling apart. The partisan movement was assuming a mass character, setting up its rule in some areas of Slovakia. All this posed a serious threat to the interests of fascist Germany, which attached great importance to Slovakia in its strategic plans. This decided the Nazis to occupy it outright. In these circumstances it was necessary to hasten the uprising.

The Slovak National Uprising, launched on 29 August 1944, marked the beginning of a national democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia. The insurgents brought down the clerico-fascist regime, freed one-third of Slovakia's territory and proclaimed the Czechoslovak Republic there. The Slovak National Council took all power in the liberated areas into its hands. The old administrative apparatus was destroyed and all clerico-fascist organizations and institutions were abolished. The SNC legalized the existence and vast powers of the National Committees as revolutionary organs of people's rule. There began the formation of a new, popular, truly democratic political system, with the Communist Party of Slovakia as its leading force, as the largest and most well-organized one. In the course of the uprising the CPS and the Social Democratic Party merged on Marxist-Leninist principles by the will of the working class. As a result, the influence of the revolutionary party of the working class on the progress of the revolution increased substantially. Another factor in this was the unification of trade union organizations, which laid the groundwork for post-war trade union unity in Czechoslovakia.

The revolutionary organs of state power on insurgent territory had extensive responsibilities in regard to directing the people's national liberation struggle. Extraordinary attention was paid to defending the liberated areas. All energies were directed primarily towards aiding the insurgent fronts that were defending the Slovak island of freedom.

The Slovak National Council's solution of key problems of power and of military, political, social and other problems, lent the revolution a profoundly democratic, anti-fascist character. There was an unprecedented upturn in the revolutionary energy and initiative of the people, whose swift offensive resulted in routing the fascists and their flunkies. The revolution expropriated their property. The National Committees, operating in conjunction with factory committees, virtually took over the management of enterprises. They saw to the strengthening of the defences as well as to production and supplies. The Church was stripped of all privileges. The new authorities adopted drastic measures against

those who had enriched themselves during the war, against speculators, and established revolutionary standards in the sphere of social security. They effected democratic changes in the cultural sphere. The transfer of schools to the state was one of the major changes decreed by the SNC.

Establishing just national relations between the Czechs and Slovaks in liberated Czechoslovakia was one of the key questions discussed in preparing for the uprising. A correct settlement of this problem was important as a means of achieving closer popular unity and mobilizing the revolutionary energy of the masses. During the uprising, the Slovak people rejected the reactionary clerico-fascist nationalism of the Slovak bourgeoisie, which Hitler's Germany used as a tool for dominating the country. They also took a resolute stand against attempts by bourgeois emigres in London to go back to the discredited, undemocratic system of relations between the Czechs and Slovaks typical of the pre-Munich bourgeois republic, in which the ruling Czech bourgeoisie had ignored the national rights of the Slovak people.

The Slovak people, carrying on their armed struggle, declared explicitly for linking their future with that of the fraternal Czech people within a united Czechoslovak Republic and for building their mutual relations on the principles of equality and equal rights. They were deeply convinced that only in such a state and only on these principles could the conditions be provided for the all-round development of the Czech and Slovak peoples and for strengthening their unity. The uprising laid the foundations for new, truly just relations between nationalities in the country. It won the initial positions for the pursuit of a consistent Leninist national policy, for a fraternal unification of our peoples in a common state. Later, this unification was completed with the federalization of Czechoslovakia.

For two months the uprising defended the territorial integrity of the liberated areas deep in the fascists' rear, heroically resisting superior enemy forces. The battle with the Nazis also went on unabated after the insurgents had gone over to mass partisan warfare in the mountains. The deep-going revolutionary changes begun during the uprising were continued on liberated Czechoslovak territory. The progress and results of the uprising were largely instrumental in the formulation of the Košice Government Programme² as the programme of the Czechoslovak national democratic revolution. Thus the uprising largely predetermined the development of post-war Czechoslovakia.

Klement Gottwald had a high opinion of the historic role and significance of the Slovak National Uprising for the future of the whole country. Speaking on the fifth anniversary of the uprising, he said:

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"I regard the fact that we have a new republic, a state of Czechs and Slovaks enjoying equal rights, a state of working people, a republic in which the working people are masters of their own destiny and the destiny of their country, having united in inseparable friendship with the mighty Soviet Union, as the greatest achievement of the Slovak National Uprising."

The views and concepts of the revolutionary forces on the one hand, and bourgeois groups on the other, clashed understandably in the resistance movement, which encompassed a wide political spectrum. This applied to the strategy and tactics of the anti-fascist struggle and, above all, to the post-war political organization of the republic. It was highly important for Czechoslovakia to decide on its international political orientation. The Communists linked victorious completion of the uprising with a new foreign policy orientation towards co-operation with the Soviet Union, which the liberated state would consistently maintain. They proceeded in this respect from the experience of the people, who had not forgotten that in the Munich period the Soviet Union had been the only country to stand by Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post War Co-operation, signed in Moscow on 12 December 1943, was a landmark in the implementation of the policy. The fact that even the bourgeoisie in exile had to accept it was an expression of the deep changes which had occurred in the balance of class forces both at home, where the Communists had gained considerable authority, and abroad, thanks to the increased prestige of the Soviet Union. Thus one of the historical achievements of the Slovak National Uprising was that it furthered the development of relations of alliance between Czechoslovakia and the world's first socialist state and led to a new foreign policy orientation for our republic. This made the unity of the national and internationalist aspects of the anti-fascist struggle a reality.

The Soviet Union, prompted by the principles of fraternal co-operation, rendered decisive military, material and political aid to the combatants of the insurgent fronts and subsequently to partisan units. In this connection mention should be made, first and foremost, of the Carpathian-Dukla operation which the Soviet Army carried out in September 1944, starting the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the USSR. Our peoples will never forget that this exceedingly difficult and complicated operation against strongly fortified enemy positions in the Carpathians was mounted by the Soviet Command with a view to giving the insurgent Slovak people effective support as speedily as possible. By shedding their blood in joint battles at Dukla Pass, Soviet troops and the

troops of the Czechoslovak Army Corps, which was formed in the Soviet Union and fought its way to Prague shoulder to shoulder with Soviet troops, sealed for ever the inseparable alliance and friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples.

The Soviet Army's liberating mission was explicitly internationalist. Soviet troops liberated a number of nations, including the people of Czechoslovakia, from fascist tyranny. This enabled them, on regaining freedom, to chart the path of their future development for themselves. The Czechoslovak revolution, which opened with the Slovak National Uprising in the conditions of fascist slavery, followed the general laws of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to Socialism begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution. At the same time it developed in forms determined by the internal conditions and the historical experience and traditions of our peoples. The determination shown by the masses in establishing a just social order and steadfastly opposing attempts to go back to the past sprang from the intensity of the national liberation struggle, the people's great revolutionary energy, and their will and readiness to advance along a new road.

Needless to say, the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army and our alliance and friendship with the world's first socialist state were important class factors behind the revolutionary developments in our country and elsewhere. These factors ruled out the possibility of an international imperialist intervention to re-establish bourgeois rule. Events in several countries, where operations by troops of the Western powers ended in the defeat of the revolutionary movement and in the restoration of the capitalist system, showed that imperialism was defending the class interests of the bourgeoisie, doing its utmost to preserve and shore up the capitalist system.

The Slovak National Uprising, one of the largest armed actions by the masses against fascism in occupied Europe, made a substantial contribution to the defeat of Hitler's Germany. It knocked the Slovak clerico-fascist state out of the war and tied down considerable Nazi forces. The uprising seriously upset international reaction's anti-Communist and anti-Soviet plans in Central Europe and helped strengthen the positions of the popular forces at further stages of the revolutionary process.

Our victorious national liberation struggle against fascism ended in the May Uprising of the Czech people in Prague, which fused with the final liberation of Czechoslovakia as a result of the Soviet Army's Prague operation that culminated on 9 May 1945. The favourable international situation created by the defeat of fascism, the vast dimensions of national democratic revolutions, the militancy of the masses led by the commu-

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In Czechoslovakia, the revolution led to a new society. It gave birth to a new alliance of town and country. The role of the alliance took place in the apparatus of the revolution, was on National Council. It organized key industries, reform and the traitors. The positions of the new armed forces.

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In Czechoslovakia as in other countries, the national democratic revolution led to a thorough class, social and economic restructuring of society. It gave power to a class alliance comprising the working people of town and country plus the anti-Nazi section of the bourgeoisie. The alliance took political form as the National Front, in which the leading role belonged to the working class led by the communists. The state apparatus of the past, disrupted in the course of liberation and the revolution, was gradually replaced by a new system, people's rule, based on National Committees. Immediately after the war, the state nationalized key industries, banks and insurance companies, effected an agrarian reform and took steps to confiscate the property of the invaders and traitors. The overall result was a weakening of the political and economic positions of the bourgeoisie. Great attention was paid to the formation of new armed forces, loyal to the people.

The bourgeoisie, part of which had a share in power, was unwilling to reconcile itself to further revolutionary transformations. It calculated that the revolution would gradually subside and that this would make it possible to reverse the march of history. The bourgeoisie was backed in this by imperialist forces, which by then had explicitly renounced, at international level, co-operation with Socialism within the anti-fascist coalition formed during World War II, and had taken a frankly anti-Soviet and anti-communist stand.

Preservation and promotion of the progressive character of home and foreign policy, and consistent advancement of the national democratic revolution became the main content of the subsequent activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. To this end the communists used both the advantages of their position in the government and the upswing in the revolutionary initiative of the masses. The CPCz chose tactics enabling the working people to see for themselves, by their own experience, the anti-popular intentions of the bourgeoisie:

The logic of the revolutionary process in our country, as elsewhere, was leading to the definitive settlement of the problem of power, the fundamental question of every revolution. The first open political clash with the bourgeoisie over this issue occurred in Slovakia in 1947. The defeat suffered by the anti-popular forces of reaction there considerably weakened the positions of the bourgeoisie throughout the country. As for a radical and final settlement of the problem of power throughout the country, it came in the memorable February days of 1948. The working people, led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party

of Czechoslovakia, defended the achievements of the revolution by responding with resolute mass action to the attempt of the reactionary bourgeoisie at a counter-revolutionary coup, which was inseparable from international imperialism's efforts to stop post-war revolutionary developments all over Europe and turn them back. Reaction's political spokesmen were completely isolated. The absolute majority of the rank-and-file members of the non-communist parties dissociated themselves from their policy. Political power was in a constitutional way taken over by the working people. This opened for the peoples of Czechoslovakia the road to building a new society.

The experience of the communist-led mass revolutionary struggle of the people against fascist bondage, for the restoration of national freedom and political independence and the establishment of people's rule, which paved the way for Socialism, provides a set of valuable lessons valid to this day. The legacy of Great October was creatively carried forward by the joint solution on a common basis of national and class, internal and international problems, bearing in mind that the transfer of power to the working class in different countries took specific forms. The lessons drawn from the major revolutionary events of the 1940s contributed to Lenin's theory of socialist revolution. In spite of distinctions in the initial levels of economic, social, political and cultural development, the alignment and mutual relations of class forces, and the forms and pace of democratic and socialist changes, all the revolutions of the time had a common essence expressing the chief law-governed process of the contemporary epoch, the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

It is fair to say that the new society has attained its main goals and met the demands for which the Czechoslovak people fought both under capitalism and in the years of the anti-fascist national liberation struggle. A deep-going revolutionary restructuring of the entire social system, economy and culture took place during the period of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia. At a time of rapid social changes, when it was necessary to firmly resist imperialist attempts at pressure and interference in our affairs, break the resistance of the class enemy and combat survivals of centuries-long prejudices, and backward habits without ceasing to generalize the experience being gained, Czechoslovakia accomplished the main tasks of the period of transition from the old system to a new one and laid the foundations for Socialism in a historically short time. As a result, our country entered the stage of building a developed socialist society. The difficult task of transforming life on revolutionary lines was not exempt from mistakes and miscalculations but they were overcome in the end.

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On Czechoslovak soil as elsewhere, Socialism, a new and dynamically developing social system, demonstrates its historical advantages and potential. It guarantees the working people all fundamental political and social rights and assures a high standard of living, rapid economic progress, a continuous perfection of socialist democracy, real brotherhood and equality of our peoples and nationalities. The country's membership of the socialist community is a reliable safeguard of its independence and security.

Our experience leaves no room for doubt that loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles and unfailing adherence to the general objective laws of socialist construction, and their creative application, are decisive if the goals of the new society's development are to be achieved. Any departure from these principles is fraught with serious mistakes and difficulties. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our society went through their most difficult period in the late sixties, when they had to fight back the attacks of counter-revolutionary forces endangering the very foundations of Socialism in our country. With the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries we succeeded in defeating the plans of foreign and domestic reaction designed to liquidate the socialist system in Czechoslovakia and weaken the positions of Socialism all over the world. Over fifteen years have passed since then. The progress made in socialist construction in these years shows that the measures adopted in order to defeat the counter-revolution were necessary and correct. They were highly important as a factor for the consolidation and advancement of Socialism in the ČSSR, for closer unity and cohesion of the socialist community, for peace in Europe.

Czechoslovakia's experience also shows that in the course of building socialist society, especially now in the eighties, when the scientific and technological revolution is making rapid headway, many questions logically arise which cannot be answered without engaging in creative quests, generalizing practice and testing, through experiments, new approaches to the solution of major problems. This necessitates a persevering effort to master and perfect Leninist working methods, whose chief features are the ability to discern, analyse and resolve in time the contradictions and problems arising in the course of socialist construction; to correctly define the character of any stage reached by society; to make a sober assessment of achievements; to steer clear of complacency and subjectivism; to set major but realistic objectives with due regard to both the requirements and the potentials of society; to foster and make effective use of the people's initiative in order to accomplish the tasks set.

In accordance with the decisions of its 16th Congress, the CPCz helps combine scientific and technological achievements more and more effectively with the advantages of the socialist system and hasten the transition of the economy to intensive development. To implement the line adopted by the Congress, it is necessary to deepen socialist democracy, perfect the whole political system and work to draw more and more people into the management of society. Society constantly demands of all of us that we do our best for the education of socialist man and guarantee people high living and cultural standards by dynamically developing the economy and raising labour productivity.

Doing everything possible to strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—a friendship based on common class interests, ideas and goals—is the cornerstone of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

The very existence and growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, their foreign policy of peace and their unity and co-operation within the defensive Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance account in decisive measure, now as in the past, for the fact that Europe has enjoyed peace for nearly forty years. Socialist Czechoslovakia will go on doing its utmost to contribute to the political, economic and defence power of the socialist community. Today, when the international situation has been made much worse by imperialism's aggressive militarist forces, our common efforts are aimed at preserving peaceful conditions for life on our planet, easing international tensions, bringing about disarmament and resuming the policy of peaceful co-operation among all countries irrespective of their social systems. The recent CMEA Economic Summit showed this again.

In solving diverse political problems, Czechoslovak communists never overlook the need to maintain the unity of national and internationalist interests. We are prompted in doing so by our responsibility to the working class, to our people and the whole international communist and working class movement, and by solidarity with the national liberation and other progressive movements of the world.

The Czechoslovak people express their patriotism and internationalism by showing a high degree of labour and social activity on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and in the course of preparations for the anniversary of the May Uprising of the Czech people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army. The fulfilment of socialist construction plans is the most valuable contribu-

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The achievements registered by the Czechoslovak people in the years of the national liberation struggle, their struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution and their efforts at building and advancing the new society make contemporary history. We learn from the revolutionary legacy of the past and derive strength from it for further progress. Just as we speak with good reason of the important place in history and the great significance of the struggle in which the foundations for today were laid, so future generations will draw on our experience as a source of inspiration in building the future. And this constitutes the continuity of the struggle for the realization of the great ideas of Communism.

Notes

¹ The leadership included Karol Šmidke, Gustáv Husák and Ladislav Novomeský.

² The programme of the first government of the restored republic was proclaimed in the city of Košice on 5 April 1945.

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Address at a dinner at the Kremlin on the occasion of the official visit to the USSR

31 May 1985

Dear Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, Esteemed Soviet Friends,
Comrades!

Allow me, first of all, to thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers for the invitation to pay an official visit of friendship to this country, for the warm welcome and for the kind words about Socialist Czechoslovakia and our Party and about myself. I am also happy to express my heartfelt gratitude to the Muscovites for their hospitality. I attach extremely great significance to the fact that our meaningful and fruitful talks with Comrade Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and my entire stay here in Moscow were imbued with the spirit of great friendship and mutual respect, understanding and trust which are typical of our relations.

In this spirit I would like to bring, on behalf of our top party and government bodies, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Czechoslovak communists and all our people fraternal greetings to the glorious Leninist Party and its Central Committee and to all Soviet people who have been leading the struggle for peace, freedom and human progress since the great October Revolution.

I am sincerely pleased that my visit is taking place at a time when we are still under the direct impression of the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over Hitler's fascism. During those memorable days of May our people, too, celebrated with pride the anniversary of the conclusion of their national liberation struggle. We cherish with gratitude the memory of our country's liberation by the heroic Soviet Army,

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which brought us freedom and created conditions for building a new life in accordance with the aspiration of our people. Czechoslovak-Soviet relations of alliance and our being part of the socialist community are the permanent and immutable foundation of our foreign policy, a source of strength in our efforts to build Socialism. The Czechoslovakia-1985 jubilee exposition which we have opened today, is evidence of this.

Comrades!

I value highly the fact that our talks with Mikhail Gorbachev today have confirmed the full identity of our views. I am very pleased to say that our relations are developing in complete accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between our two countries, the 15th anniversary of which we have just celebrated.

Internationalist ties between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the firm determination and vigorous efforts of our two fraternal parties to promote our co-operation and make it even more meaningful, form a reliable basis of these relations. I would like to emphasize the firm resolve of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our top government bodies to do everything to further promote our co-operation in the political, economic, ideological, theoretical, foreign policy, military and other fields and ensure all-round development of contacts between our party, government and economic bodies, mass organizations and work collectives, as well as friendly relations in all other forms. Their usefulness will be proven by practice.

Making our relations even more vigorous is of special importance at the current stage. We are very closely following your preparations for the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Typical of these preparations are a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis and bold and creative initiative in setting new objectives in the fields of social and economic development, home and foreign policy and the theory practice of socialist construction, which were particularly manifest at the March and April plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. These ideas, very convincingly formulated in the speeches of Mikhail Gorbachev, have generated enthusiastic response among the Czechoslovak communists and our working people and given a major impetus to our further work.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is also beginning to prepare for its 17th Congress, which is to be held in 1986. The questions relating to its convocation and to the specific issues of its preparation will be

tackled by the Central Committee of our Party at its plenary meeting in June. We proceed from the continuity of the programme for the construction of developed socialist society. At the same time, and in a spirit of responsibility, we are aware that the new demands, the high rates of scientific and technological progress, the far-reaching changes in the world economy, the efforts to preserve peace, as well as other factors make it necessary to raise the level and effectiveness of all our work to a qualitatively new level.

We are also facing a task that brooks no delay—the task of first of all making our socio-economic development more dynamic, raising the technological and intensification level of the national economy faster, and improving the quality of all our work. This is the aim of our efforts to perfect the system of planned management, boost the social and labour activity of the people, improve the work of the Communist Party and enhance its leading role.

We consider efforts to substantially deepen our participation in international socialist integration as an element of and a prerequisite for the acceleration of our development. We focus primarily on adding impetus to the development of co-production and specialization, on coordination of research and on concerted progress in other fields, too. It is impossible to accomplish new tasks, to make us more independent of capitalism and to better meet our people's requirements without increasingly pooling our countries' strength and resources, without drawing our economies closer together. That is why we attach fundamental importance to the follow-up of the accords concluded at the CMEA Economic Summit in June 1984. We view economic, scientific and technological co-operation with the Soviet Union as a key element here. The avenues and aims of this co-operation are specified in the programme of its development up to the year 2000 which we have signed today. We shall work to consistently translate this programme into reality.

Comrades!

I would also like to emphasize that our views in the foreign policy sphere coincide fully. We all know that the reactionary forces of international imperialism led by the imperialist quarters of the United States have embarked on a new crusade fighting against progress and encouraging revanchism. In pursuit of world domination and strategic superiority, they have launched a new round of the arms race and started preparations for militarizing outer space. The threat to world peace posed by

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their adventurist, aggressive policy makes it imperative to strengthen the unity and concerted action of the socialist community, and to rally all democratic and realistically-minded peace forces throughout the world in the struggle to remove the war threat.

Czechoslovakia fully supports the Soviet Union's policy of peace and its initiatives which point to feasible and constructive ways of solving questions related to arms limitation, reduction of international tensions, and resumption of constructive international co-operation. We also fully support the new specific proposals Comrade Gorbachev has advanced here today.

We will continue to be fully and actively involved in implementing the concerted foreign policy of the socialist community and in the joint drive and efforts to defend peace and rebuff the imperialist threat. We consider that the unanimous decision to extend the term of the Warsaw Treaty, taken recently in Warsaw by the top party and government leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states, was a particularly important contribution to this end. We fully back the conclusion that in the current international situation the defences of our countries must be strengthened in the interests of peace and national security.

It is common knowledge that, using a variety of methods, imperialist quarters keep trying to drive a wedge between socialist countries. The Czechoslovak communists are familiar with this tactic, and they reject it. In its domestic and foreign policy the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue to pursue a principled course of dedication to Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The CPCz will keep unswervingly to a policy of closer co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of our community. This policy underlies the results we have achieved, particularly since the 14th Congress of the CPCz. I am convinced that this will guarantee our future successes in developing our socialist country.

May I in conclusion express the profound conviction that the fraternal alliance of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, friendly ties between our peoples, Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and relations of alliance will continue to gain strength.

We shall do everything to consolidate the unity and co-operation of all peace forces in the drive to avert the threat of war, for the triumph of peace and progress worldwide.

On behalf of the people of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak communists, our supreme Party and Government bodies I wish the Soviet communists, all working people of the Soviet Union, the CPSU Central

Committee and personally Comrade Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, great successes in their work for the good of their Soviet Motherland, for the peace and prosperity of the Soviet people.

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Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to the 17th Party Congress March 1986

Dear Comrade Delegates!

Dear Guests!

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is meeting during a period of significant transformation in the life of our country and throughout the world. The present challenging period confronts us with new problems and requirements in many directions. Our aim is to undertake a responsible assessment of the situation in which we work, to evaluate objectively what we have managed to achieve, and at the same time, with a Communist sense of principle, to point openly and honestly to the shortcomings and drawbacks hindering our progress. This will enable us to outline the tasks as well as ways and means for a more efficient use of the potentialities and advantages of socialism, for an accelerated socio-economic and social development in the interests of the welfare of our people. Every step we take must be considered with an awareness of the supreme responsibility facing humankind today, which is to prevent the threat of a nuclear holocaust and to safeguard our prospects for the right to live in peace.

Our Party is approaching its 17th Congress with feelings of great responsibility to our people and to the international revolutionary movement. Our aim is to review the results achieved since the 16th Congress and throughout the period of building our advanced socialist society, to define the main directions of the development of society and

the work of the Party for the coming five years, looking forward to the end of the century.

The preparations for the Congress were characterized by a business-like, constructive and highly moral political climate influenced by the resolutions of the June Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPCz, which adopted the decision to convene the Congress. The pre-Congress period, annual Party meetings and conferences and the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia have brought valuable experience and stimuli.

Hundreds of thousands of Party members and other citizens actively joined in Party and public discussions on the draft documents prepared and published for the Congress. Many critical comments of all kinds were voiced. The mainstream, however, expressed total support for the Party's political course and for its internal and external policies. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has proved its ideological unity and cohesion. The preparations for the Congress were accompanied by an upsurge of activity and initiative in honour of the Congress and the 65th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, bringing particularly valuable results. From this rostrum I would like to thank sincerely the work teams and all those who have joined the wide stream of socialist emulation.

The preparations for our Congress were fruitfully influenced by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by everything preceding it. That Congress became an event of extraordinary significance and far-reaching historical impact, and is bound to take an important place in the context of the people's struggle for peace and social progress. Through its principled, creative and innovative approach to the key issues of the present era, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proves that it is accomplishing its historical mission in an exemplary way. The Congress was filled with pride at the great achievement of the Soviet people and at their great and bold aims; it was a Congress of labour and of peace, of high moral strength and humanism, of challenging aims and a Leninist, principled approach; a Congress of sharp criticism of shortcomings, of self-criticism, with no place for window-dressing or pomp. It was a Congress of creative Leninism and of historical optimism.

Our Party and the Czechoslovak people followed the deliberations of the supreme forum of Soviet Communists with unusual interest and attention, especially the political report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, presented to the Congress by its General Secretary, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachov. The Leninist spirit of

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the report, its conclusions, the new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the other documents adopted by the Congress, together with the business-like and responsible discussion, all had a strong impact also in our country; they were stimulating for us and became an inspiring force also for our own Party and our own people.

We subscribe to the conclusions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and its principled spirit. They inspire us to draw still more lessons from the experience of the Leninist Party of Soviet Communists, to avoid complacency over what has been achieved, to give right of place within the Party to criticism and self-criticism, to resolve problems more resolutely, to consolidate our ties with the people, and not to tolerate anything that damages the good name of the Party and of Socialism.

Comrades!

The Report of the Central Committee on the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th Congress of the CPCz which you have in writing and which will be published, shows that the past period was filled with fruitful, creative and constructive work, with steadfast struggle undertaken by the Party and the people.

These were no easy years. At the turn of the 1970s-80s the international situation rapidly deteriorated. The majority of the imperialist states intensified their discriminatory measures against the socialist world. Profound changes took place in the world economy, negatively influencing also our internal development. The cost of raw materials, fuel and energy resources of domestic and foreign provenance dramatically increased. From the political and economic points of view we were faced with the pressing need to pay back our debts in convertible currencies. Moreover, in the first two years of the Five-year Plan we had to overcome the impact of a poorer harvest caused by bad weather.

The situation placed high demands on all our work. At the same time, some weaknesses were exposed, especially in the inflexible and unsystematic use of intensive factors, particularly in the progress of science and technology, and the low rate of their practical application in industry. A number of executives failed to realize that it was no longer possible to carry on the old ways of an extensive growth of the national economy.

In the first two years of the 7th Five-year Plan the rate of economic growth slowed down. The Central Committee analysed the situation, without evading obstacles, and mobilized the Party and the Communists—in the trade union movement, in the whole National Front, in the

State and economic bodies—together with the masses of the working people for a more determined revelation and use of reserves and a more systematic fulfilment of the tasks. The Central Committee and the Government were forced to adopt several extraordinary measures, aimed at safeguarding both the internal and the external economic equilibrium and at creating the necessary prerequisites for the restoration of a dynamic growth of national income. Some changes in the plan were made: the investment and import policies were made more strict and we introduced several changes in the structure of production and consumption, including some inevitable price modifications.

Life has proved the correctness of the decisions taken. As a result, by 1983, the dynamic of economic development was already restored, as laid down by the 16th Congress, and thus an all-round implementation of the tasks outlined by the Congress was achieved.

We have had undisputed successes in industry, in agriculture and in other sectors. The resources thus formed enabled further development of education, science, culture and health care. In view of the situation in our economy, its sensitivity to external relationships, we consider it particularly important that we managed to attain a balance in external economic relations and also to achieve a good balance of payments with the non-socialist countries. All in all, our national economy proved its ability to develop successfully even under basically more demanding conditions.

Although we had to overcome many obstacles and to cope with numerous shortcomings, and although we were not always successful, we never lost sight of the basic directives of the 16th Congress—to preserve and further improve the living standard of the people and to ensure their life certainties, their social securities. We succeeded in doing this.

The balance of the results attained since the 16th Congress shows that during the past five years we have travelled a significant distance on the road to building developed socialist society. With the realization of this long-term general line mapped out at the 14th Congress fifteen years ago, socialist Czechoslovakia recorded major progress in all spheres of social, economic and cultural life.

The national income, which is the decisive criterion of the prosperity of a society, has increased by 81 per cent during the past fifteen years. The volume of industrial production has grown by 97 per cent and that of the building industry by 84 per cent. Agricultural production has risen by one-third and we have raised the level of self-sufficiency in food production. We have greatly intensified co-operation in the spheres of economy, science and technology with the member countries of the





PLATE 29. With the Czechoslovak astronaut, V. Remek, and Soviet astronauts in Prague (1978).

PLATE 30. Meeting Czechoslovak children at Prague Castle (1979).





PLATE 31. With Hafez al-Assad, President of the Syrian Arab Republic and Secretary General of the Socialist Party of Arab Renewal, during a visit to Syria (1979).



PLATE 32.



PLATE 32. With Le Duan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, during a visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (1980).

PLATE 33. With Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, during his visit to Czechoslovakia (1980).



and Secretary
Syria (1979).



PLATE 34. With delegates to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1981).

PLATE 35. At an informal meeting on International Women's Day in Prague in 1981. (In the middle, in red, is Gusta Fučíková, widow of the Czechoslovak national hero, Julius Fučík.)





PLATE 36. With his sons Vladimír (centre right) and Ján Husák and family (1981).

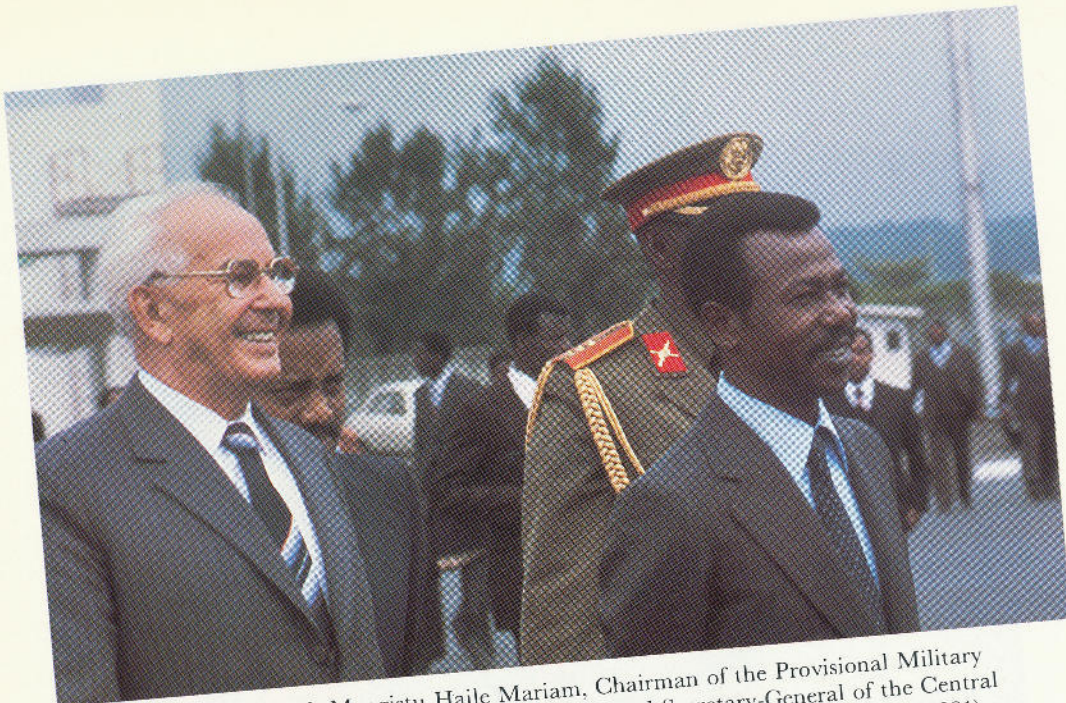
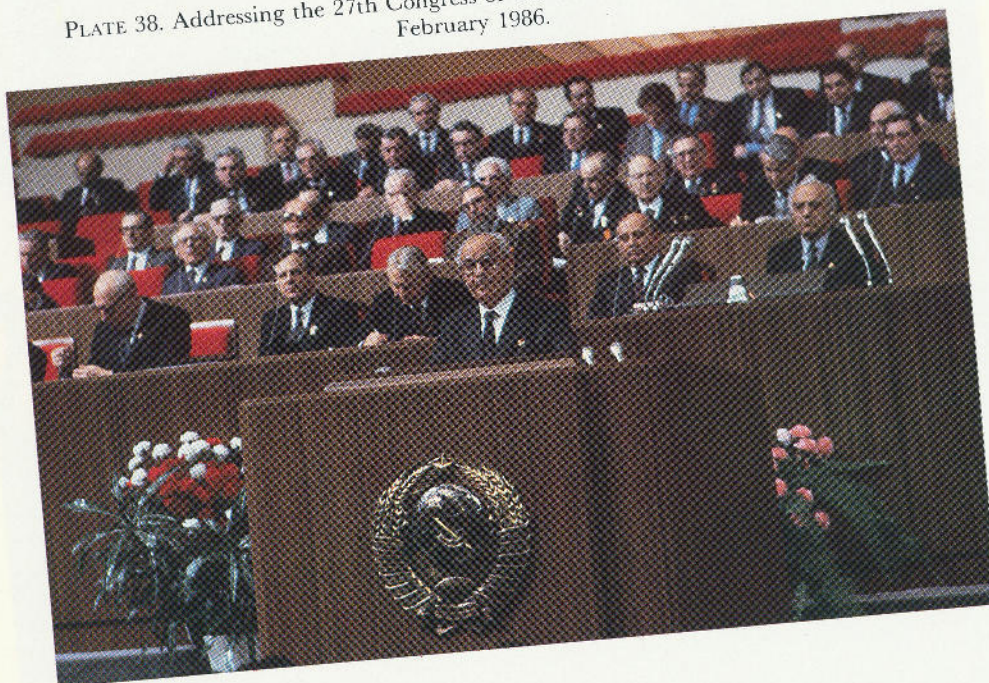


PLATE 37. With Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia and Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, during a visit to Ethiopia (1981).

PLATE 38. Addressing the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, February 1986.





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PLATE 39. With Rudolf Kirchschläger, President of the Republic of Austria,
during a visit to Austria (1982).



PLATE 40. With Yuri Andropov,
General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union, in Prague (1983).



PLATE 41. With soloists during the performance of Bedřich Smetana's opera *Libuše* on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the National Theatre, in Prague (1983).



PLATE 42. With Chadli Bendjedid, President of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and Secretary-General of the National Liberation Front, on a tour of the Aero-Vodochody Plant near Prague during his visit to Czechoslovakia (1984).

PLATE 43. With Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, during his visit to Prague (1984).

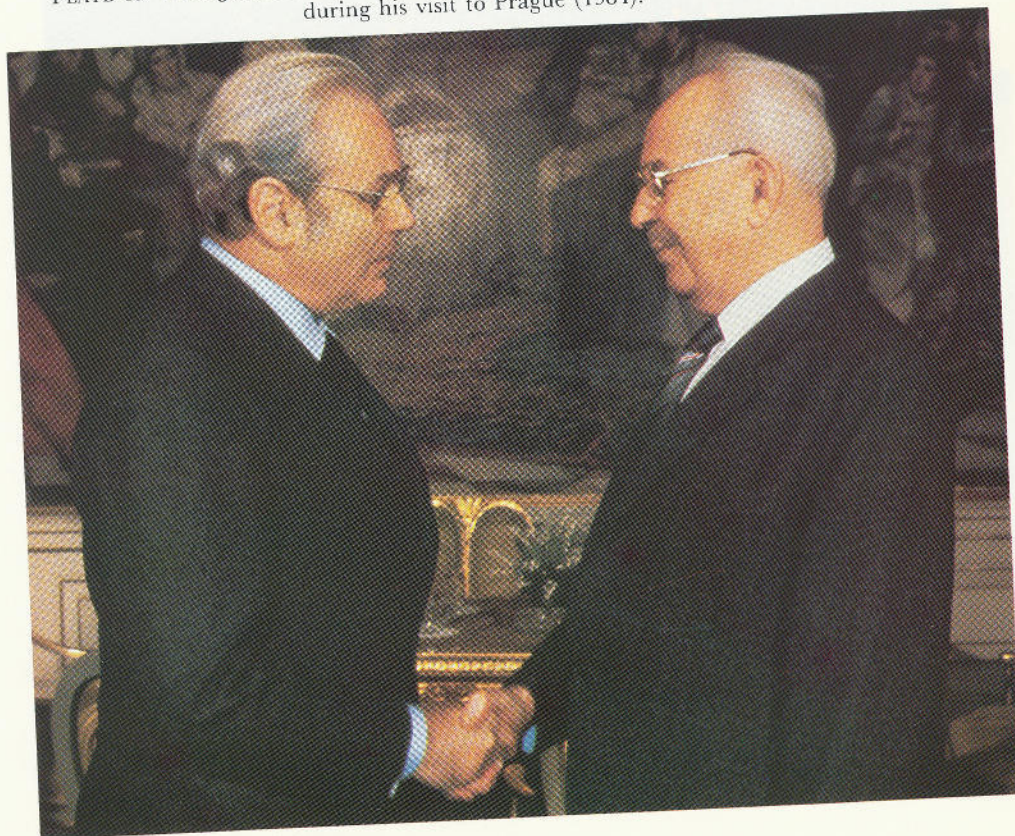




PLATE 44. With Andreas Papandreu, Prime Minister of the Republic of Greece, during his visit to Czechoslovakia (1984).

PLATE 45. With Pierre Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, during his visit to Prague (1984).





PLATE 46. With members of the Presidium and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1984).

PLATE 47. Reviewing the guard of honour of the Czechoslovak People's Army upon his election as President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, at Prague Castle (1985).





PLATE 48. At a meeting with Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1985).

PLATE 49. With his son, Ján Husák, and family (1985).



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PLATE 50. In discussion with the Archbishop of Prague, Cardinal František Tomášek (first from left), and other representatives of the Roman Catholic Church at Prague Castle during a festive reception (9 May 1985).

PLATE 51. With the highest representatives of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty (from right to left): Gustáv Husák, Erich Honecker, Todor Zhivkov, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Mikhail Gorbachev, Janos Kadar and Nicolae Ceaușescu (Warsaw, 1985).





PLATE 52. With Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Moscow, 1985).

PLATE 53. With participants in the Czechoslovak Spartakiad (1985).

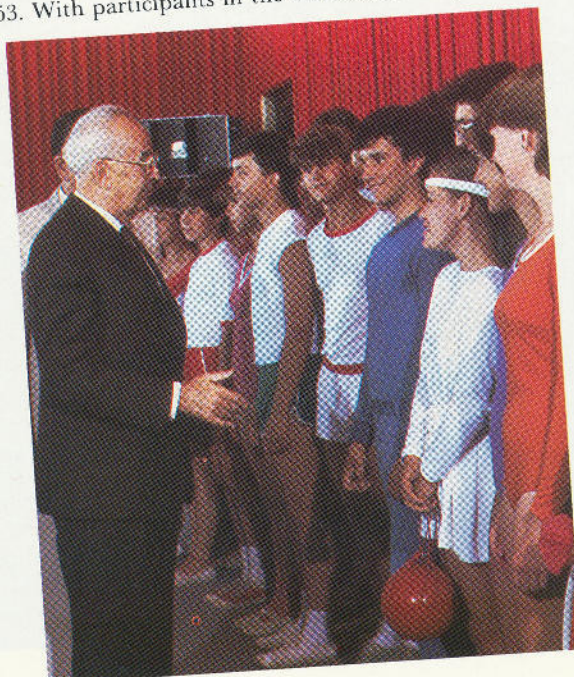




PLATE 54. Meeting of Gustáv Husák with the Chairman of the SPD and Socialist International, Willy Brandt, Prague, November 1985.

PLATE 55. With Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Prague, November 1985).





PLATE 56. With the highest representatives of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty (Prague, November 1985).

PLATE 57. Meeting between President Husák and Robert Maxwell, 16 May 1986.



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Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, particularly with the Soviet Union. The total volume of foreign trade has practically doubled. The USSR share in our foreign trade turnover comes to practically 45 per cent, and that of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance to 74 per cent.

The results we have achieved during the past fifteen years in the development of the national economy have allowed a 44 per cent increase in personal consumption. Material social consumption has increased by 109 per cent. The pension scheme was improved, vast improvements were achieved in the welfare of families with children and in the sickness security scheme. Nearly 1,800,000 flats were built. The social security system was substantially expanded for all citizens.

Amongst the key tasks of our domestic policy were the consolidation and further development of our socialist social system, the political system of Socialism. The development we have achieved since the early 1970s is a telling answer to all the anti-socialist and revisionist forces who foretold that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic would never extricate itself from the crisis of the late 1960s.

We took the consistent path of strengthening the power of the people and the socialist State, enhancing socialist democracy. The position of the working class was strengthened and so were its ties with co-operative farmers and the intelligentsia. The socialist awareness of our people has been strengthened and their educational level was elevated, and the moral and political unity of our society has grown. The Leninist principle of the federative structure of the State has proved its worth. We have achieved further development and cohesion of our nations and nationalities.

Czechoslovakia enters the latter half of the 1980s as a consolidated, politically strong, economically and socially mature country with a high cultural and living standard of the people. Speaking from the Congress rostrum, may I take the opportunity to thank Communists, members of the other political parties, non-Party members, the whole of the National Front, workers, co-operative farmers, the intelligentsia and all the citizens of our country who contributed their share to these achievements.

Our foreign policy also followed a clear, principled line. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia never lost sight of the need for our homeland to remain a firm constituent member of the socialist community, to strengthen its international political position and authority. In our alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries associated in the Warsaw Treaty, the defence capability and security of our country

have been strengthened. We are taking active part in the great struggle for peace and social progress.

The successes that fill us with justified pride were achieved thanks to the principled policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and to its close alliance with the working people, its organizational and ideological activities and the endeavour of the powerful army of thousands and thousands of its officials. The Party's Central Committee and its bodies paid special attention to ensuring continuity and creative development in the implementation of the strategic line of the 14th Congress and, in consonance with the *Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz*, gave a realistic appraisal of the situation and guided the Party and society towards a conscientious fulfilment of the stipulated tasks. Referring to the resources constituting the basis of our successful activity, it is relevant at this point to re-emphasize the fact that we have been and remain able to rely on the socialist community, on our staunch friendship, alliance and selfless co-operation with the Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party.

The positive appraisal submitted by the Central Committee to the 17th Congress does not mean that everything went smoothly or that we may indulge in self-satisfaction and ignore the weak points in our work. What we have accomplished are no doubt good results. But frankly, could not still better results be achieved? Could we not record better progress in the intensification of our national economy and in the effectiveness and quality of our work? Latent reserves yet to be tapped still exist in all sectors and, justifiably, they have received explicit mention during pre-Congress deliberations. There are many inconsistencies in numerous areas of management, in cadre work, in the fulfilment of decisions adopted. We cannot turn a blind eye to such phenomena. An uncritical spirit and unprincipled stand lead to subjectivism, stagnation and a loss of perspective. The consequences to which this might lead are clear from our dearly paid experience in the 1960s.

There will always be problems. What is important, is not to gloss over them, not to circumvent them, but to tackle them in good time. Our tasks demand that we do not tolerate any contradictions between words and deeds, any half-heartedness, any expression of industrial parochialism, any bureaucracy or formalism.

Our people justifiably link the dynamic development of our society with the activity of the Communist Party, with the Party's leading role, which logically expands with the advance of socialist construction. This is a fact that all Party bodies and organizations and all Communists—no matter in which sector they are active—must bear in mind. We must

never forget the initiative and potential.

We must raise the Party to a new level, its bodies and apparatus, its methods and the coming period.

Comrades!

The key is to speed up the internal revolution, to speed up the process of raising the living standards of the people. Our entire effort must be directed towards this end. The task of the revolution is to achieve the successes of the socialist revolution, both in the socialist countries and in our National People's Republic of China, our homeland.

The people are living standards, certainly, but also the qualitative development of socialist society, raising the living standards directly, through the development of resources.

On the one hand, the further the revolution, the more the people will be able to raise their living standards. In the two-thirds of the world, the industrial revolution is to be completed, the necessary conditions for the

never forget that our entire work must be based on the growth of people's initiative and on the development and application of their creative potential.

We must raise all the political, organizational and ideological work of the Party to a higher level, improve the activity of State and economic bodies and all the links in our political system, and use such approaches, methods and style of work as will guarantee that the goals we shall set for the coming period will be met.

Comrades!

The key issue facing us at the present stage of development, both from the internal and international points of view, is the inevitable need to speed up the social and economic development of our society, substantially raising the efficiency and effectiveness of the national economy. Our entire material and spiritual potential must be mobilized to this end. The tasks resulting from this must be seen in the context of their revolutionary impact, as the principal battlefield on which the further successes of Socialism will be decided. Their implementation concerns both production and the infrastructure, the work of the Party, the socialist State, economic bodies, the trade union movement, the entire National Front, National Committees and all the citizens of our socialist homeland.

The purpose of all our efforts, as we see it, is primarily to raise the living standard of the people further and to strengthen their social certainties. We must create conditions for the satisfaction of new, qualitatively higher requirements by our citizens, for the harmonious development of the people's personalities and for the enhancement of the socialist way of life. At the same time, we must bear in mind that the raising of the material and cultural standard of the working people is directly dependent on their active participation in the creation of social resources.

On the basis of an analysis of the potentialities and requirements of the further development of society we are setting ourselves high tasks in the outlook of the economic and social development up to the year 2000. In the next fifteen years the national income is to increase by more than two-thirds, while the relative consumption of materials and energy in industry is to be considerably reduced. The social productivity of labour is to go up by nearly two-thirds. This is the only way of creating the necessary resources for increasing the population's personal consumption by at least 50 per cent, for a further increase in social consumption,

for the construction and modernization of one-and-a-half million flats and for a more resolute handling of ecological problems. It will ensure a materially and spiritually richer life for our citizens, an improvement in their living and working conditions, and further progress in creating conditions of life corresponding to socialist principles. It will also make it possible to generate the necessary means for ensuring the defence capability of our country.

The higher build-up of resources is also necessary for carrying out the far-reaching programme of modernization and reconstruction and for the introduction of important structural changes in the national economy by which the efficiency of production will be substantially increased and its export appeal enhanced, as also will be its role in the international division of labour, primarily with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

At the same time we must introduce forward-looking changes in the social division of labour, which will change not only the character of human work but man himself. All these transformations are necessary to speed up the process of eliminating the differences between classes and social groups, and of bringing blue- and white-collar work even closer together.

The attainment of these goals requires that our further action is based on a much more resolute and consistent implementation of the strategic line of accelerating social and economic development, especially through the intensification of the national economy. The realities of life have shown that this is the most topical and urgent requirement.

The all-round intensification of our economy is conditional on a substantial acceleration of scientific and technological progress and on a consistent application of its results. A real revolution is taking place in science and technology, which has a far-reaching influence on all aspects of production, on social relationships and the entire system of management, and on the working and living conditions of every man and woman. When speaking about revolution, we must naturally have a corresponding approach to the practical application of science and technology and use high criteria in this process. It is on our agenda to radically increase the ability to develop science and technology, to utilize their findings as rapidly and as widely as possible, and to make practical use of technological innovations that have a great social effect and lead to high technical standards and quality of production. This is the decisive way of attaining the overall increase in the productivity of labour which will enable our country to occupy a leading position

among the world's industrialized countries and to contribute effectively to the strengthening of the positions of socialism in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

Arising from this is the enormous importance of our part in the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the Member Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance up to the Year 2000, which represents a qualitatively new step forward in the process of socialist economic integration. This programme is also important from the point of view of making our countries less vulnerable technically and economically in relation to the capitalist world. Its strategic lines aimed at the electronization of the national economy, the comprehensive automation of production, the development of nuclear engineering, the devising of new materials, the introduction of new technologies and the development of biotechnologies are fully in keeping with Czechoslovakia's needs. We consider the implementation of this programme a key task of our economic, scientific and technological policy and will continue to focus on it the attention of all industries, industrial groups and enterprises, and our entire scientific and research base.

In these efforts we attach greatest importance to the implementation of the long-term programme of economic, scientific and technological co-operation with the Soviet Union up to the year 2000. Its implementation, as well as the implementation of other programmes agreed upon with the other member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, requires an initiative, active and responsible approach throughout the entire managerial and economic sphere.

The mechanism of management and planning and the entire investment policy must be subordinated to the long-term strategy of intensification of the national economy based on scientific and technological progress. Efforts aimed at intensification, scientific and technological progress, restructuring, and the substantial improvement of management and planning must be at the centre of the attention of Party, State and economic organizations. This requires us to raise the standard of organization and discipline everywhere, to radically improve the style of work and to create a corresponding creative and business-like atmosphere. We must be more resolute in overcoming stereotype, technical conservatism, inertia and habits characteristic of the extensive development of the economy, and in keeping with the requirements of the time we must change the psychology and methods of people's work.

Comrades!

The decisive step in the implementation of the long-term strategic line of economic and social development must be taken during the 8th Five-year Plan period. The strict criteria must be applied to every executive worker and to all work teams this very year. Concrete tasks to this effect are contained in the draft 'Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of Czechoslovakia in 1986-1990 and the Outlook for the Period up to the Year 2000'. These tasks will be dealt with in greater detail by Comrade Lubomír Štrougal.

The basic requirement is to achieve an 18-19 per cent growth in national income, with the provision that 92-95 per cent of this increment must be accounted for by higher social productivity of labour.

It has to be said that these figures were not easy to arrive at; we had to fight for them, and the Central Committee considers the 3.5 per cent annual growth of the national income minimal. It is inadmissible to yield to the pressures of sectors and enterprises which would like to soften the planned targets or are unwilling to leave the rut and afraid to take responsibility upon themselves.

Our economy has enough resources to achieve this. In comparison with other industrially advanced countries, for example, the utilization of fixed assets in Czechoslovakia continues to be low, while the relative energy and raw material consumption in industry is still high. This consumption must be meaningfully reduced in the present five-year period. Considerable reserves exist in the utilization of working hours, organization of work and production and the entire system of management.

The engineering industry must be assigned the decisive role in speeding up scientific and technological progress and in the modernization of the production base. In the present five-year plan period, engineering production must increase by roughly 25 per cent and the output of the electrical engineering industry must go up by nearly two-thirds. In both these branches techno-innovative policy must be pursued much more actively, and much better use must be made of the potentialities and advantages of socialist economic integration, industrial specialization and co-operation, while the production ranges must be narrowed down significantly and production series increased.

The engineering and electrical engineering industries are faced with the important task of ensuring the production of complete systems and sets of machines, equipment and instruments of the highest technological standards, guaranteeing essential changes in technologies and

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the organization of production while becoming fully involved in the process of international socialist integration. This is the only way of ensuring meaningful growth in the social productivity of labour and efficiency in the different branches of the national economy, enabling the application of qualitatively new kinds of materials and setting a high rate of electronization.

Engineering, together with electrical engineering, is the backbone of our industry. It employs a large number of highly skilled workers, technicians, designers and other experts, who represent an important creative potential. Naturally here, too, adequate conditions must be created especially for the modernization of basic machinery and technological equipment. The ministries controlling these sectors will be requested to invest the funds earmarked for this purpose in key and forward-looking branches and to work with great responsibility and full awareness of the importance of these branches for ensuring a distinct improvement in the quality of products and deliveries of innovated commodities for the domestic market, and for meeting increasing export targets effectively. It is inadmissible for anyone to make excuses that the targets could not be met for what one termed objective reasons.

Metallurgical production, its structure and output, modernization and reconstruction must also be subjected to the demands placed on the engineering industry. We shall pursue the policy of improving the quality and practical usefulness of metallurgical production and of gradually reducing the output of pig iron and steel.

We shall continue to devote special attention to fuel and energy supplies for the national economy. This is a serious task of primary importance, in which nothing must be neglected. In the sphere of fuel and energy supplies, the principal feature of our policy is orientation to the economical use of fuels and energy in all spheres of production and consumption and to obtaining new energy resources. One of the most important contributions to the solution of environmental problems is the development of nuclear engineering. We must ensure that at the end of the 8th Five-year Plan about 30 per cent of electricity is generated by nuclear power stations, and, by the end of the century, at least 50 per cent. This will make it possible for us to start the planned reduction of coal extraction. We must proceed more consistently in the development of centralized heating supply.

In the chemical industry we must continue the process of restructuring in favour of a more effective processing of crude oil, a dynamic growth in the production of pure chemicals and the development of less energy-intensive production methods. Increased attention must be devoted to

the development of the pharmaceutical industry from the point of view of the further improvement in public health care.

It follows from the draft Guidelines that increasing importance is being attached to the modernization of the industrial infrastructure, the reliable functioning of transport and communications, and the development of all branches that are directly responsible for the level of the satisfaction of the requirements of the population.

The fulfilment of the aims of economic and social development requires the further strengthening and development of the agricultural and food production complex, and of all the branches participating in the feeding of the population. The great work done by the socialist co-operative farming industry, which has withstood the test of time in such a magnificent manner, and the care expended by the Party and State for the development of agriculture have created the prerequisites for farm production to expand and for industrial methods to be applied on a growing scale. Our socialist agriculture can rely on highly qualified cadres and modern technology. All this allows us to place higher demands upon this area, to work towards the fuller exploitation of its reserves and potential, including the removal of unjustified differences in the standard of work and results at the various enterprises operating under comparable conditions.

The policy of the Party and the socialist State will also go on ensuring a high standard of rational nutrition and a further increase in the degree of our self-sufficiency in food. However, we need to channel our efforts more towards ensuring stability in agricultural production. We must continue to give priority to the development of crop production, creating the necessary reserves, giving all-round care to soil fertilization and protection. Livestock production and its structure must be developed in harmony with all society's needs on the basis of our domestic sources of fodder and their increasingly rational utilization. Another important requirement is to dovetail the process of intensification more consistently with a policy designed to improve the living environment and protect the nature.

What goes for the whole of the national economy—the need for great economy and efficiency—applies fully also to agriculture. Agricultural raw-materials and foodstuffs must be produced at a cheaper cost. The need for more intensity and economy in agricultural production places substantially greater demands on the level of science and technology, on the comprehensive nature and quality of all decisive intensification resources, and on the level of their utilization. This requirement must be respected, in the first place, by co-operative and state farms, and the

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biology centres and technical services in agriculture. The same applies to science and research in the entire agricultural and food production complex and in the crucial supplies branches, in particular the sphere of agricultural and food processing machinery, the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, and the respective planning and control bodies.

A task of highly topical import is improvement in the range, quality and durability of foodstuffs. On the whole, it is imperative to achieve better utilization of agricultural products and foodstuffs, and to consistently eliminate the all too frequent waste of resources. A particularly urgent requirement is the need to eliminate existing disproportions between growing agricultural production and inadequate processing and storage facilities, to produce a speedy solution to the problems of foodstuff packaging. The practices we encounter in the harvesting and processing of sugar beet, the wastage of such a valuable raw-material as milk, the high losses incurred during potato storage and the poor preservation of the fodder crop are no longer tolerable, and it is high time that due action was taken.

For the period of the 8th Five-year Plan vital measures have been adopted to improve the management system in the agricultural and food processing complex. These measures seek to increase the powers and range of responsibility of agricultural enterprises. The number of plan indices is being reduced, and the operation of economic tools and application of contractual relationships between agricultural production and the processing industry increased. The measures adopted are an important instrument for the promotion of the intensification programme, and for raising the efficiency and profitability of agricultural and food production. All these are significant changes leading to economic and political consequences. The set principles should be put into effect consistently and on a comprehensive basis at all tiers of management, from the planning authorities down to farm level, while a systematic evaluation of experience gained should be made and problems arising should be tackled in good time.

Comrades!

A sphere requiring the application of particularly strict criteria, a more resolute line of action and implacability with shortcomings, is capital construction. This is a sphere where decisions must be made in a spirit of acute political responsibility, where society's interests and the prospects of its development must constantly be borne in mind. In other

words, we need to build with more forethought, greater speed, higher quality and more efficiency.

Investments in the 8th Five-year Plan will total 900,000 million Cz. crowns. These are obviously huge resources. Their utilization should clearly reflect the advantages of the socialist economy. Nevertheless, this requires a radical reorientation of capital construction away from the hitherto prevalent new construction and toward modernization and reconstruction, to the attainment of a decisive breakthrough designed to bring more efficiency to the entire concept of investment policy. We cannot tolerate forever the persisting unconscionable number of buildings under construction, failure to observe deadlines in construction projects, non-observance of price-limits in construction, and the fact new facilities fail to possess the planned parameters. The investment projects launched in the current Five-year Plan period should be consistently interlinked with our long-term objectives in the field of scientific and technological development and restructuring. This fact should be realized in particular by the ministers and by general and enterprise managers. The liquidation of morally and physically obsolete and unneeded machinery and equipment should be dealt with much more resolutely. Beginning with the current Five-year Plan, we must create preconditions for the allocation of higher investments in the sphere of services and the entire tertiary sector, particularly as regards environmental protection and improvement.

The dubious practice, to which many people have become accustomed, by which investments are requested and, regrettably, allocated irrespective of real social needs must be discontinued. In this connection, I should like to remind you that preferential treatment in capital construction, which cannot be avoided, by no means constitutes the right to waste funds and to disregard the principles of good economy.

The Federal Government and the National Governments should exercise consistent control of the entire sphere of capital construction and strict supervision of the meeting of the targets set. We must draw up a programme of measures conducive to changing course in the process of planning, managing and carrying out capital construction.

Construction in our capital, Prague, is considered a task of concern to the entire society. In particular, great attention should be paid to projects that will ensure the city's supply of power and heat, and will speed up the construction of the basic communication system. In housing construction, which is a particularly sensitive sphere, more comprehensive and even treatment is necessary and the older houses should be modernized with greater insistence. We consider the construc-

tion of health care facilities and the substantial improvement of their standard to be an extremely important task. We shall see to it that Prague will continue to be developed as a political, cultural and social state centre with an advanced material and technical base, the modernization of which should be given utmost attention.

Dear Comrades!

The safeguarding of further dynamic development of the national economy requires the continuous improvement of the system of planning and economic management as well as the gradual reconstruction of the economic mechanism. In conformity with the decisions of the 16th Party Congress we have made major steps in this respect. The proposed course of accelerating the socio-economic development and intensifying the economy confronts the entire sphere with new, qualitatively higher demands and requirements.

We are aware that this involves very complex problems posing high demands on both theoretical and practical activities. All the socialist countries are seeking the most efficient ways and methods of resolving this paramount task. In this respect, the decisions of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are of special importance for us. In the interest of promoting socialist economic integration, the need to bring the systems of management of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance closer together should be taken into account.

The development and management of the economy should also proceed from the principles of democratic centralism—the improvement of central management, while strengthening the responsibilities and power of the lower tiers and, especially comprehensive support to promoting the initiative and material incentives of working teams.

Special emphasis should be placed on improving central management and planning, strengthening its comprehensiveness and its programme and co-ordinating functions, which are among the principal tasks of the Federal Government. As far as the State Planning Commission and other planning bodies are concerned, they are confronted with an urgent task, namely that the plans at all tiers of management should be consistently aimed at meeting the set targets, that they should proceed from the criteria of effectiveness throughout society, that the prominent place among them should be held by norms and indices expressing the qualitative aspects of production, and that they should be interlinked in the basic inter-sectoral relationships.

Much should be changed in the style of work of ministries responsible for individual sectors. It is their task to concentrate primarily on controlling their respective sectors in a conceptual manner, with an overall knowledge of the national economy, free of narrow departmental interests and protectivism. At the same time, we must use more effective methods of specifying the plan for industrial groups and enterprises, to limit the number of plan indices, and to substantially enhance the role of economic contracts.

The entire system of management should be based on a balanced relationship between the centre and the initiative of the lower echelons. This requires us to increase the independence and responsibilities of enterprises, with a simultaneous improvement in central management and planning. Their activities must be based on the full application of cost-accounting. The incomes of the enterprises and industrial groups must be made fully dependent on the effective use of the resources entrusted to them. The effective utilization of economic methods and instruments of management, in particular prices, credits, long-term economic norms, and the strengthening of the role of the entire banking and financial system should create scope for socialist enterprise. Great attention should also be devoted to the improvement of the organization of the production and technical base.

When solving these tasks we should not forget that the basic prerequisite of success is to win people's participation, interest and support, so that the broadest strata of the workers and entire workers' teams, guided by deep interest and conviction, may take their share in the efforts aimed at reaching optimum results.

What is deserving of much more forceful attention is a substantial strengthening of State discipline at all tiers, starting from the top, in the central bodies as well as at the level of enterprises. The entire system of management must be permeated by systematic, effective control.

The system of management and planning must exert much higher pressures so as to speed up scientific and technological development and to apply its results in production. Materialization is slow in the case of the requirement that scientific and technical development be made both the backbone of the plan and an essential element of operation of the planning commissions, the commissions for investments and for scientific and technological development, the ministries and industrial groups, as well as individual enterprises and works.

The planning commissions and commissions for investments and scientific and technological development must upgrade their activities, particularly in this respect. It is the special task of the ministries to

formulate the strategic concepts of economic development and, primarily, of scientific and technological progress, and to thoroughly attend to their materialization.

Our scientific and technical potential and the professional qualification of our cadres engaged in basic and applied research, both at research institutes within the Academy of Sciences and at universities, are none too small. However, the opportunities for making full use of this potential and for making the creative, challenging spirit prevail at these institutions so that their work may become of much greater benefit, are far from exhausted yet.

Better co-operation and co-ordination are required in basic research as pursued by the Academies of Sciences and by universities, while purpose-orientated and more dynamic development is needed in those scientific disciplines which are bound to have a decisive bearing in the years to come on the structural transformations, the enhancement of the technical and economic standards in each sector of the national economy, and the guaranteed growth of labour productivity.

Concentration of capacities and means has to advance at a more energetic pace, as has the channelling of the creative forces of scientists and scientific teams for speedier solutions to the tasks set forth in the plan, chiefly those arising from the *Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Development of the Member Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance up to the year 2000* as well as from the State target programmes. Our research has to be orientated toward producing qualitatively new scientific information, especially in highly productive technologies, in progressive materials and new technology, in environmental and human health care. All-embracing efforts are to be aimed at improving the functioning of the interfaces between science and practice and between practice and science. The ministries, general directorates, and even enterprises must not remain passively waiting to see what science will turn up; instead, they must set their own assignments to research.

The Central Committee has dealt rather frequently with these issues during its meetings. However, materialization of the decisions adopted has been making little headway so far.

Our expenditures on fostering the development of science and research have been and shall remain considerable, in keeping, on a relative scale, with those made by advanced countries. It is a matter of urgency that they be used effectively. We must conduct a comprehensive assessment of the usefulness and structure of the workplaces of basic and applied research, and their effectiveness.

We must also continue setting up adequate organizational, motivational and economic prerequisites for establishing closer links between science, research, and production, perfecting the mechanism governing their mutual relations and co-operation.

Czechoslovakia is a country of limited resources of raw materials, noted for an advanced international division of labour and foreign trade connections. Therefore the over-all effort aimed at perfecting the economic mechanism must of necessity devote extraordinary attention to upgrading the work in foreign trade, its management and organization. A further strengthening of the links between production and foreign trade is the prime objective. We cannot feel satisfied with the level of work in commerce. A major improvement is imperative in this sector.

The new tasks cannot be met unless the part the working people take in control is purposefully expanded, unless such forms as brigade-organized work and remuneration are given wider latitude for implementation, unless socialist competition is developed and orientated toward the qualitative aspects of the economic activities, with added weight on material and moral stimuli. Our working people participate in the control of production in many ways which ought to be perfected and cleansed from the various taints of formalism. At the same time we must examine and creatively implement all that has proved its worth in the other socialist countries. The worker's responsibility and competence at work must be reinforced everywhere, and the authority accorded to honest, skilled work must be strengthened by all means. Each working team ought to display the attitudes of a true manager, understanding that a high technical standard and quality of products, doing honour to the manufacturer and the State alike, must become the basic measure in all spheres of production.

The question of the quality of production is a serious economic as well as political issue. Shortcomings in the quality of production, which are often far from small, lead to losses, both material and moral, disturb the rhythm of production and provoke justified criticism. It must be said straight away that none of the targets we are setting ourselves can be met, nor can a high productivity be reached or scientific and technological progress accelerated, unless the situation is brought to a turning point here. Even mass political work will have to be more efficient in shaping this understanding.

We must become fully aware of the fact that the challenging objectives we are setting forth cannot be attained without a smoothly operating planning and managerial system. Our basic guideline here is the con-

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stant development of socialist production relations issuing from the social ownership of the means of production, the unity of the economic and social policy, the inviolability of the socialist principles governing the economy, and the orientation of all economic activity toward the satisfaction of the needs of society.

Many of the issues and problems discussed here are obviously of a long-term character, which of necessity requires time and funding. More stress must be laid on dealing with urgent requirements, such as that for a rational utilization of the working hours and production funds, and the strengthening of discipline, order and organization at workplaces. To this end, it is necessary that much more energetic use be made of all the opportunities offered by the existing managerial system, the laws in force and the legal regulations, so that the direct managerial and organizational work be brought to a substantially higher standard of quality. As has been said more than once, quite a few weak spots exist in its standards at all levels.

A more rational distribution and utilization of manpower resources is a problem of topical relevance requiring major attention. One of the reasons why I bring this fact to your notice is the future contingent of almost 850 thousand young people entering the employment sphere within the span of the next fifteen years. Securing man's right to work and a full and rational employment rate belong to the fundamental merits of Socialism. In compliance with the implementation of progressive structural changes in industry and in the building trade, we must channel the utilization of new manpower resources towards improving the shift rate and, especially, towards improving the employment structure in the tertiary sphere. Equally important is the provision of conditions promoting sound mobility trends and more flexible retraining programmes. This requires a more substantial intensification of the long-term planning of skilled manpower requirements and corresponding professional training schemes.

Comrades!

We attach primary importance to a well-thought-out social policy geared towards further advances in the improvement of the living standards of the population, bringing a further degree of perfection to social relations and enhancing the real humanism of our socialist system. We must pay constant regard to the improvement of all aspects of people's life; we must respond to their needs, eliminate in good time everything that obstructs the path of mutual understanding, co-oper-

ation and rapprochement of our social classes, social groups, nations and nationalities.

Our fundamental designs as regards the development of the living standard under the 8th Five-year Plan include the acceleration of the rate of personal consumption and the implementation of qualitative changes in the structure of consumption. We envisage a 14 per cent rise in population incomes. Average nominal wages will concurrently increase by 6.5 per cent. We shall dovetail the wage trends with the growth of labour productivity.

The primary criterion in the remuneration sphere must be the principle of remuneration according to merit, a principle consonant with the requirements of social justice. The growth in living standards must be based on incomes accruing from employment, on remuneration effected according to the amount and quality of work done. There are still many shortcomings in the implementation of this principle reflected, first and foremost, in egalitarianism. It is, therefore, imperative to tighten supervision of the balance of work and consumption, to continue implementing the policy of improving consistently the economic efficiency of our wage systems, to create a climate which rules out any obliteration of differences between conscientious and negligent work.

Violation of socialist principles is reflected in various negative phenomena such as profiteering and attempts to secure easily drawn, unsubstantiated incomes. A number of cases involve parasitism, property offences against the laws of socialist ownership, bribery and other malpractices that have to be combatted resolutely.

This is not the first time we have turned a critical eye to these anti-socialist phenomena. One of the documents specifically concerning measures designed to combat such evils is the Letter of the Presidium of the CC of the CPCz on more efficient modes of struggle against the violation of the principles of socialist legality, socialist morale and discipline, approved in February 1983. A measure of progress has been achieved. However, there are still a number of contingencies where due action is not taken with the required degree of consistency. It is indispensable to boost the spirit of Party responsibility so as to achieve a situation where the principles formulated in the Letter, which put forward most resolutely the requirement for consistent struggle against all negative phenomena, against all attempts to gain an easy living based on sham work, aggrandizement, corruption and misuse of function, the struggle for the consistent observance and implementation of the principles of socialist legality and the socialist moral code could gain firm hold in our

daily life. We are convinced that this principled approach will be fully endorsed by the Party, by the majority of our people.

A position of permanent relevance in the context of our social policy characterizes our system of social security, which displays a high level in Czechoslovakia and is one of the major advantages of Socialism. Depending on our created economic potentialities we shall continue improving the social security system.

We plan to invest 470,000 million Cz. crowns in this sphere under the 8th Five-year Plan. We plan to launch a programme designed to improve the system of pensions—improving the living standard of pensioners, within the limits of existing possibilities, is one of the goals covered by this programme. We shall also expand the network of social services and care for the aged and the disabled persons. We shall expand the scope of programmes of aid for families with children and newlyweds. The current five-year period will see deliberations on the kind of conditions qualifying for the extension of holidays in the category of workers employed in strenuous jobs and shift-based workshops, and for the adoption of measures in favour of women with very young children. Improving working conditions and labour safety are tasks that must be ascribed permanent topicality.

In the years ahead, we shall pay major attention to the health services on lines specified in the draft Guidelines. Medical care is an important area of social policy affecting every family—the entire population. In this respect we can boast a whole number of significant successes in preventive medical care, surgery, the struggle against epidemics and other sectors of medicine. The means released from the State budget for medical services involve and will involve considerable sums. What is important, though, is to ensure their purposeful and rational use, to achieve overall improvement in our medical service and its organization, and to place observance of the ethical code of the medical professions on a firmer footing. Medical care must be matched by good training-for-health programmes addressed to the broad public, but in particular to children and young people. The fact that medical services in this country are provided free of charge, as are medicines, in no way implies that they should be wasted. Without seriously altering the principles of our health care policies, we shall have to give searching attention to this issue and adopt measures precluding wastage and abuses in the medical services.

Considerable resources will be budgeted under the 8th Five-year Plan to finance developments in education and culture. Here, too, efficient utilization, securing further advance in these spheres, is important. A task of primary relevance is to ensure the smooth functioning of the

internal market. This is a significant factor in stimulating a mood of public satisfaction and encourages interest in better professional performance, in production growth and in labour productivity.

On the whole, our market is well supplied, especially with foodstuffs, but certain preventable shortcomings do occur. Often the problem concerns basically the small things that people need but have to waste a lot of time trying to get, although we could easily produce them.

The Federal Government, the National Governments, Republican ministries and the executive bodies of producer and consumer co-operatives must pay exacting regard to the problems of the domestic market and must eliminate the causes of shortcomings and negative phenomena with greater resolution and consistency.

It is urgent that we improve the quality of work of ministries of commerce and general directorates, to achieve closer co-ordination between trade and production, and to raise the quality and flexibility of the organization of work in the whole system of trade. We must substantially increase the efficiency of control of honesty and fair play in trading, of the quality of goods and the protection of consumers.

The supply of goods to the market will grow by more than 13 per cent during this Five-year Plan period. The current standard of production is sufficient to provide the required quantity and quality of consumer goods and foodstuffs. It is a great challenge for consumer goods and food industries, which must be more prompt in meeting the growing demands of the domestic market in the required format and quality, and in meeting the demands of all groups of the population. In order to achieve this we shall modernize selected lines of production and give priority to the development of sectors processing domestic raw materials. Imports will also grow in order to enrich the domestic market.

A much more active role must be played by a greater and, especially, more varied range of durable consumer goods. The object is primarily to considerably increase the supply of the required more advanced engineering and electrical engineering products, to improve the manufacture and sale of furniture, and to be more flexible in offering fashionable textiles and footwear in sufficient quantities.

The problems of the domestic market are closely linked to the sphere of retail prices. The principles of a long-term pricing policy were adopted at the 16th Congress, and we believe there is no reason to change them. Their essence lies in the unity of the social and economic functions of the price mechanism, which should contribute to harmony between supply and demand, and to maintaining the balance on the market. To underestimate any of these aspects results in deficiencies, with economic and,

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often also political, consequences. This is a sensitive sphere that affects literally everyone. It must be approached from principled political positions, and the system of its State control and supervision must be consistently applied.

We must respect the simple truth that it is not possible to have expensive production and cheap goods on the market at the same time. As it is, our State subsidizes and will continue to spend large sums of money to keep down the prices of food and services in particular. Moreover, it is generally known how extensive the whole sphere of free services and social consumption as a whole is in our country. What is available to the society, what the socialist State can distribute, depends on the creation of resources, on good and high-quality work.

The price mechanism must stimulate our industry to more rapid innovation, to enriching the range of high-quality and required goods in all price brackets. It is not possible, however, to tolerate a situation when, under the pretext of innovation, old products are supplied to the market at higher prices while cheaper and largely accessible products disappear. Kind words and criticism obviously do not help. It is time to introduce stricter checks, to teach responsibility to the manufacturers and bodies that approve of these practices and forget that price machinations neither increase the national wealth nor satisfy the needs of society. Any fraud, any attempt to cheat, must be strictly penalized.

We must not forget either that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is not an island. We cannot disregard what is going on around us. Our aim will be to prevent an automatic transfer of the impact of price variations on world markets to the sphere of consumption.

In housing policy the basic task in the 8th Five-year Plan period is to build 480,000 new flats and to make more progress in the modernization of the housing stock. The National Committees concerned must adopt strict measures to limit the depletion of the housing stock by demolitions and to increase the extent and quality of its repairs and maintenance. In the interests of order and more effective and equitable use of the housing stock, amendments to the Housing Act must be drafted.

Environmental control is an urgent problem which has become global. Many aspects related to this cannot be dealt with at a national level, and they have become the concern of various international negotiations in which we take an active part. We will allocate at least 17,000 million crowns to different environmental protection projects during this five-year plan period. It is more than twice as much than in the 7th Five-year Plan.

Problems related to atmospheric and water pollution must be dealt

with more resolutely. Great help will come from structural changes in the fuel and energy base. Stricter criteria must be applied to assessing new capital construction projects. In the coming years, we shall face the urgent task of expanding the construction of waste water treatment plants, and of substantially limiting the unfavourable impacts of chemicalization on farm production. Principal attention should be paid to the comprehensive solution of environmental problems in whole areas, according to the degree of urgency, especially in Prague and in the North Bohemian conurbation. Environmental control in a broader sense of the word should feature prominently in drafting election programmes and in the voluntary citizens' "Z" campaign.

Dear Comrades!

Attention to the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and its union with co-operative farmers, the intelligentsia and other working people is one of the foremost tasks of the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This union also forms the social basis of the unity and growing cohesion between our nations and nationalities.

Considerable importance is attached in the Party's policy to careful respect for the common interests of the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities of our country and for the continued integration of our society under the leadership of the working class.

Our policy follows the steady line of developing and perfecting socialist democracy, of extending the participation of working people in State and public affairs. The whole of our socialist system will strengthen and create new possibilities for the dynamic development of society, together with the growing quality and flexibility of the political system of Socialism, based on popular power.

Socialist society has inexhaustible resources in the creative activity, initiative and consciousness of the people. Their development and utilization is the basic way to a further strengthening of the position of the working man as manager in his own country. This is also the principle of socialist democracy, emanating from the deep humanism of our system—democracy for the working masses. It guarantees unprecedented rights that are connected inseparably with man's duties and responsibility to society. It is the basis of the stability of our State, of its real strength. We shall continue to intensify and protect it.

Reaching a higher stage in the development of socialist democracy means primarily further all-round development of the activities of the bodies and organizations associated in the National Front, the legislative

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bodies and the national committees, in which elements of popular socialist self-government—in the Leninist model—are applied and in which they mature and intensify. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the leading political force of our society, is the regulating and unifying force in this process and the basis of its sound development.

The National Front has proved its strength and vitality both in the national liberation struggle—the revolutionary struggle for political power—and in the whole period of socialist construction. We shall ensure that its wide base is used to further intensify the union of Communists with non-Party members and members of other political parties, the co-operation of classes, nations and nationalities, individual social and professional groups. We want the National Front to contribute even more effectively to the people's increased creative participation in socialist construction, in management and administration, in the shaping of the socialist way of life. Therein lies the great responsibility of Communists working in it.

The widest mass organization representing a significant force is the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which is vested with considerable authority. The trade unions make their influence felt in every sphere. We appreciate that they are the organizers of a wide movement for taking up voluntary pledges, and for socialist competition, and that they help to introduce new forms of the organization of work. Trade unions do valuable work in the education of working people, especially of the younger generation, in the protection of their rights, and in care for their working and living conditions and their recreation. They make an active contribution to the consolidation of the unity of the international trade union movement.

New tasks place increased demands on the work of the trade unions, too. We cannot ignore the practice of seeing one's rights as more important than one's duties that has taken root in a number of places. However, the one cannot exist without the other. Trade union bodies and organizations must concentrate more actively on problems of discipline and order at workplaces, on the struggle for fair remuneration against wage levelling and unearned incomes, on the everyday struggle for the practical implementation of the results of science and technology, and on stricter economy for higher effectiveness and quality of work. On the other hand, however, some trade union bodies do not pay the necessary attention to the workers' interests and needs.

Trade unions must also seek more effective forms of work, trying to eliminate administrative methods and to intensify live contact with people. We consider the development of the social role of the trade

unions as an important part of the development of socialist society. We are convinced that trade unions will continue to contribute significantly to the further economic, social and cultural development of our society.

We must continue to pay due attention to the all-round education and training of the younger generation, to a fuller utilization of young people's knowledge, abilities and zest. It is well known that as a matter of principle our Party places this problem in the foreground and attaches great importance to it. We have repeatedly stressed that our relationship with the younger generation is our relationship with the future of our country. The whole society, the socialist State, the family, the school and the work teams must realize this.

We must not forget that orientation towards the present is a primary characteristic of the psychology of young people. It is necessary to teach young people a correct understanding of the past and a feeling of responsibility for the future. Young people consider the achievements of the socialist system as natural and they look critically around them. The important thing for them is to understand that the way to the present has led through a difficult struggle, self-sacrifice and hard work, and that the situation will not be any different in the implementation of the tasks that we have set ourselves. The younger generation should be led to this knowledge and this approach by education and by being entrusted with more responsible tasks, ensuring their fuller participation in the work, life and management of society. However, much will depend on the young people themselves, on their readiness and willingness to take on a bigger share of the responsibility for solving problems, for overcoming difficulties and for dealing with new tasks.

We have young people on whom we can rely and on whom we can rightly place our hopes. They prove it with their assiduous, active work in factories, in agriculture, at school, in sports and culture, and in the fulfilling of responsible duties in their preparation for the defence of our country.

However, kind words about youth should not hide the fact that some of our young people behave at variance with the socialist ethic and standards of society. We cannot overlook phenomena such as a frivolous attitude to life and its values, lack of respect for work and for other people—including their own parents, and various forms of violence and vandalism. At the same time, we cannot overlook either the fact that the cause of these phenomena is often the bad example set by adults. Nor must we underestimate the influences of the capitalist world. It is our foremost duty to protect our children and young people from anything

that might endanger their healthy development, and to see to it that the values of the socialist way of life are instilled in their minds.

The family plays the key role in education, in the shaping of the basic character traits of young people, their emotional, moral and spiritual values. The Party and the socialist State will continually endeavour to keep the family as the sound basis of our society. What must alarm us is the large number of divorces. It shows the need to pay considerable attention to the education of the growing generation for matrimony and parenthood.

The Socialist Union of Youth is the Party's faithful assistant in its work with the younger generation. Its activity deserves our appreciation and thanks. We expect it to further intensify its influence on the younger generation, especially on young workers, and to give even better expression and satisfaction to the interests and needs of young people, employing methods that are lively and attractive, without being excessively organizational, without fits and starts and without being ostentatious. The activities of the Socialist Union of Youth and of its Young Pioneers' Organization must be in the focus of permanent interest and attention from Party bodies and organizations.

In discussing the development of socialist society, we should, at our 17th Congress, express our high appreciation of women, who play an important role in our political, social, economic and cultural life, and who take care of the family and the coming generation. I would like to emphasize that in the period to come, it will also be considered an important part of our policy to further the increasingly deeper involvement of women in all spheres of our society's life, and to create still more favourable conditions for them to fulfil their mission as home-makers and mothers.

We greatly appreciate the work of all the organizations associated in the National Front and the contribution of other political parties to the joint effort of socialist construction. In the future, the Party will rely on the selfless and praiseworthy activities of the Czechoslovak Union of Women, the Union of Co-operative Farmers, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union, the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Culture, the Czechoslovak Society for Science and Technology, the Socialist Academy, the organizations of our co-operative movement, the Union for Co-operation with the Army and the Czechoslovak Union of Antifascist Fighters.

We also highly appreciate the work of the Czechoslovak Red Cross Society, the Union of the Handicapped, the Czechoslovak Fire Fighters' Union, the Associations of Hunting Sportsmen, Anglers, Beekeepers,

Pigeon Fanciers, Small Animal Breeders, Gardeners and Stamp Collectors.

We are convinced that all these organizations and special-interest unions will pursue their socially beneficial mission with increased activity.

Comrades!

The further development and strengthening of our socialist State will be accorded primary consideration. The times in which we live, the tasks which we face, all demand that the role of the State become even more important as the main instrument of economic and cultural development, as well as in strengthening socialist order and in safeguarding socialist achievements.

Taking our federal system as the starting point, we shall continue to strengthen our unified Czechoslovak state, the fraternal coexistence and co-operation between our two nations and all the nationalities, intensifying the internationalist unity of Czechoslovak society as a whole. Making use of all the resources of both our Republics, our aim will be to strengthen our unified Czechoslovak economy. Within the framework of our Federation the federal bodies are facing the task of strengthening their role in originating concepts and co-ordinating their functions.

On the subject of the socialist State, its federal system, we should point out that the time has come to work out a new Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. A quarter of a century has elapsed since its adoption and in the meantime important changes have taken place. Developments have necessitated a number of amendments in the form of constitutional laws which must be integrated into one single constitutional document.

In the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and in the Czech and Slovak National Councils it is desirable to raise the quality of legislative activities and to ensure that the highest principle of our Constitution—the principle that all power is vested in the people—is fully respected. Our legal order must effectively protect the socialist system and social ownership and fully guarantee the legal certainties of the citizens. The legislative bodies must make a greater contribution to the supervision of the work of executive bodies and the observance of laws.

The necessity to improve methods of work, management and control relates to the full extent also to the Federal and National Governments. The successful implementation of the strategy for speeding up the social

and economic development of society demands that the governments focus their attention on tasks of decisive importance, that they apply higher criteria to the organization and supervision of the implementation of the adopted resolutions, and that they ensure that their decisions are implemented consistently and on time. An important demand is to improve management and the co-operation between ministries and the central bodies of State administration, and to ensure better co-ordination of the activities of National Committees and economic bodies in regional development.

Every minister must be aware that he is a member of a Government which is the executive body of popular power. It follows that he must approach the fulfilment of his tasks not from a narrow departmental position, but from the point of view of the interests of society as a whole. Within the limits of his competence he must ensure that the Party line is correctly elaborated and unconditionally implemented.

The utilization of effective managerial methods assumes that the Governments will more resolutely eliminate all bureaucratic barriers and that they will simplify the structure and apparatus of State and economic bodies.

Greater strictness is required to reduce the number of different directives and regulations. In practice we can see that many of them are of no help either to production or to society; on the contrary, they complicate life quite unnecessarily.

We shall continue paying particular attention to improving the work of the National Committees. Their role in management and administration will be further increased. Their social mission as the local bodies of State power must be enhanced in every respect, to improve the political and professional standard of State administration and ensure greater involvement of citizens in their work. The National Committees must make fuller use of the powers entrusted to them, ensuring comprehensive development of the regions and better harmonization of social and local needs and interests. They will have to take better care of the development of education, culture, the health service, market supplies and the good functioning of local transport.

The attention of the National Committees must concentrate more than before on seeking and utilizing all resources for the development of services, particularly those connected with housing, and this must be done together with the co-operative organizations. Besides building new flats and ensuring corresponding technical and social amenities in the housing estates, they must focus their efforts and means on the reconstruction and modernization of old houses and flats, public mains and

sewage disposal systems, and on the renovation and revitalization of city centres. More care must be paid to the cleanliness and good appearance of our villages and towns. The National Committees bear great responsibility for public order, for the creation and protection of the human environment. In short, a responsibility to create better conditions for everyday living. Solving these problems must become part of the prepared election programmes.

The improvement of the standard of work of the National Committees is unthinkable without improving the activities of their elected bodies and deputies. It is therefore necessary to select, as deputies, citizens, enjoying authority and public respect. The National Committee apparatuses must bear in mind that they exist to serve the elected bodies and the interests of the citizens.

The whole political system, all the links in the chain, have to be aware that they serve the people, our socialist society. Party bodies and organizations must call to greater responsibility those executives who permit people who have come to have their problems settled to be met with indifference, bureaucracy, condescension and suppression of criticism. We must be extremely attentive towards all things concerning people, their work and their problems; we must attend to the justified demands, reminders and suggestions of citizens sensitively. That is one of the key political issues. All members of the apparatus, functionaries and bodies in all lines, must work in harmony with this aim.

Strict observance of socialist legality must be ensured and greater emphasis placed on the enhancement of legal consciousness. The primary task of security bodies, the prosecutors and the law courts is to demonstrate great vigilance and consistency in protecting our social system, socialist ownership, and the rights, freedoms and personal property of the citizen. Citizens must be better protected from those who endanger their safety; severe legal action must be taken against criminal elements and against anybody infringing our laws and our socialist order. We shall allow no one to violate our laws, to undermine our political system or our socialist order, no matter what lofty phrases he might use about freedom, democracy and the so-called struggle for human rights.

In the future, too, we shall pay continued attention to the strengthening of the security and defence-capability of our socialist homeland. We shall ensure that the Czechoslovak People's Army—in close alliance with the Soviet Army and other armies of the Warsaw Treaty, the armed units of the Ministry of Interior and the people's militia are thoroughly trained politically and professionally and well supplied materially for

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The tasks facing us in the coming period must be closely linked with political-educational and ideological work, its mission being to contribute as actively as possible to the forming of the qualities of the new man—a conscious citizen of the socialist homeland, a personality developing in all respects, who has espoused the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the principles of socialist morale, and who acts accordingly. All these noble qualities can only be shaped through man's active, conscious participation in the social and economic transformation, in which socialist production and social relations, the socialist way of life, are strengthened and promoted.

The history of socialist construction teaches us not to neglect anything in ideological work and not to allow it to slide into formalism and empty educationalism, or to substitute arguments by phrases.

Today, when the mobilization of the people's creative powers is becoming the determining precondition of further progress, the Party places increased demands on ideological work. While continuously focusing attention on the world-outlook, moral and working education, this work should be channelled so as to make the people understand the strategy of our economic policy.

The necessity to speed up the transfer of our economy to the path of intensification is indeed a revolutionary task whose present-day historical significance can be compared to socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture in the past. It is a task related to the great effort to change people's thinking and their general psychology. It is an effort to combat inertia and the inability or reluctance to change deep-rooted forms of work and switch to new methods adequate to today's needs.

As in other spheres, here, too, certain priorities must be set. Our times call for the concentration of ideological and political work on a profound clarification of the tasks following from our social and economic programme, and for devoting primary attention to such criteria as conscientiousness, honesty, a sense of duty and responsibility to the collective.

It is also our duty to relate the clarification of our domestic policy much more closely to the international situation, to the struggle going on between Socialism and capitalism. Education in the spirit of socialist

patriotism and internationalism is coming increasingly to the foreground.

Our propaganda must be more active and specific. It must be based on existing reality and take into account the degree of the people's political maturity, drawing on the results of science and on the generalized experience of our Party and other fraternal parties, especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Ideological work should avoid spreading the illusion that further development will be easy and provoking either false optimism or pessimism; it should not rest contented with what has already been achieved or shun obstacles; it should mobilize people to fulfil their duties.

The effort to win over people's thinking is a complex, long-term process requiring immense patience. It must respect changing conditions; it must not yield to outdated opinions and moods, but must always have in view our targets and prospects.

The credibility of such work depends above all on its close link-up with real life and practice. For instance, how can propaganda be effective if people see that one thing is said and another is done; if words are not followed by deeds?

The necessity to upgrade our propaganda, to raise its standard and effectiveness, ensues not only from the needs inherent in the development of Socialism, but also from the growing class struggle on the international scale. Imperialism is stepping up the psychological warfare which it has launched against the socialist countries and is attempting to set one socialist country against another, above all against the Soviet Union. It praises some and reproves others, and tries to revive nationalism and chauvinism and even to misuse the religious feelings of citizens.

We must not forget that Czechoslovakia is one of the countries that are exposed to particularly sharp attacks by anti-Communist forces. Any lie is good enough for them to denigrate Socialism, to play down the results of our people's work and to falsify the history of our nations. They employ this method not on the spur of the moment but as regular practice.

For this reason it is a permanent task of our ideological work to expose, with well-founded arguments, the mendacity of the campaigns of anti-Communist centres. It is essential to convincingly demonstrate the merits of the socialist system, socialist democracy, to make clear the humane character of our revolutionary ideology and to spread the truth about Socialism.

The Party's Central Committee is devoting and will continue to devote great attention to the media. These must truthfully and promptly

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report on life in our country and on world events, and keep the public informed about the work of Party, State and economic bodies and social organizations.

The media must have access to information sources to be able to fulfil their mission and meet the tasks which the Party has assigned to them. This naturally increases their social responsibility. Bolder, constructive criticism is needed for the media to help create a challenging atmosphere as regards the quality of work and irreconcilability with shortcomings. It is essential that the press, radio and television become a real forum for a wide-ranging, democratic exchange of the working people's opinions and experiences; that they clarify, consistently and in great depth, the principal issues concerning domestic and international life, as well as economic and social phenomena.

Their activities must also be based on the fact that the working people are entitled to know what measures have been taken to remedy the shortcomings that have been criticised. It must become a matter of common practice that executives will personally acquaint the general public in the press, radio and television with the work of the departments under their control and the way the problems are solved, and to answer the questions that are of interest to the people. This is in full accordance with the Leninist principle of informing the general public.

We need to improve the political and professional preparedness of journalists and the cadre structure of editorial offices; to see that the information media employ those who are morally firm and devoted to the cause of the Party and the people, who will develop the best traditions of our revolutionary journalism.

The Party press, with *Rudé Právo* in the lead, must set an example of the Leninist principled approach—the militant and uncompromising spirit—in implementing the Party's policy.

Efficient use of the ideological potential of the press, radio and television necessarily requires the development and consolidation of their material and technical facilities.

For a socialist society developing on the basis of the scientific world outlook, on the systematic cognition and utilization of the laws of social development, it is essential to develop the social sciences. Experience confirms that the more the objective laws of social development are respected in practice, the more efficient socialist construction becomes.

The socio-scientific front must analyse the life of our society with more daring and greater consistency, concentrating its efforts on the elaboration of conceptions and proposals, accelerating socio-economic develop-

ment, improving the quality of the political system, perfecting the economic mechanism and forecasting further social development. An important task of the social sciences is to increase their share in the consolidation of the socialist awareness of our people, in particular the younger generation, and in the education and development of socialist man.

In this connection I would like to mention the importance of the historical sciences, the need for their further development and for the application of their results obtained in clarifying the progressive traditions of our people and comprehending Socialism as the logical outcome of the revolutionary struggle of the working people for national and social freedom in the spirit of patriotism and internationalist education.

Demanding tasks confront the Institute of Marxism and Leninism of the Central Committee of the CPCz and the Party College of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. We expect both these institutions to increase their contribution to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the training of cadres for political work in the social sciences according to new needs.

Comrades!

The role and responsibility of our system of education gain in importance during the implementation of the programme of the further development of socialist society. The function of our school system is to train young people for life and work; to foster their socialist patriotism and their respect for their parents and for the values created by past generations; to instil in them dedication to work, a sense of honour and responsibility to the collective. Such an up-bringing imbues man with permanent respect for teacher and school.

Our system of education, which we are continuously improving organizationally and with regard to content, must go on responding ever more readily to the present and future needs of the development of our society. The spotlight is on the task of guiding young people towards a creative mastery of knowledge in science and technology, especially in electronics and in further fields of promise. This also requires equipping schools with modern teaching aids.

The education and training of the younger working-class generation is an important task. Even though much that is useful has been done in this field, our efforts should continue unabated. Sound education and voca-

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tional training require greater emphasis on the level of practical skills and abilities. The stringent test that life will impose on the young people once they complete their vocational apprentice training courses will reveal the degree of mastery in which professional competence is established. Care for the training and education of the future generation of workers is one of the primary duties of the executives and officials of the organizations and institutions in which the young people will be employed.

As regards the universities, it ought to be stressed that they carry great responsibility for the training of qualified specialists for the national economy and other fields in the life of our society, and for spotting and developing talent for the sciences. The universities must likewise actively encourage the application of new scientific and technological findings in practice.

The teaching profession traditionally enjoys great respect in our society. Most of our teachers exert committed effort to arm the graduates with high professional knowledge and the quality of committed citizenship. We shall continue to create all necessary material and social conditions for their responsible work, we shall highlight the social significance and enhance the appeal of this profession for men, too, in view of the current preponderance of women in the teaching profession.

The fact that our society is entering a new, significant phase of development also confronts culture and the arts with major tasks. These play an important role in the enrichment of spiritual life, in the development of man's creative powers and abilities, and in man's ideological and moral growth.

Under Socialism the mission of culture is to serve the interests of the people. The object is to ensure that our creative artists' work reflects socialist reality with some fidelity and a high level of perfection, portraying—in the spirit of the creative method of socialist realism—our people's determination to cope with their tasks and overcome the difficulties obstructing the path of socialist construction. This must be the primary consideration of our approach towards the creative intelligentsia, especially the younger generation, and towards this goal we should direct our sponsorship and appreciation of art and its dissemination.

Our general appraisal of the level of Czechoslovak art is a positive one. This, of course, does not mean that we ignore a number of shortcomings in this sphere. There are also certain disquieting phenomena. The Party does not prescribe the forms, methods or themes of artistic creation, but

will not support anything incompatible with good taste or which distorts our socialist reality. The Communists in artists' unions and publishing houses, as well as art critics, must influence the arts more efficaciously in consonance with Party policy and the fundamental values of Socialism.

Far greater demands will have to be placed on cultural education and on amateur artistic pursuits. This is an important aspect of creative leisure, encouraging the socialist way of life. We have good, even excellent, singers and ensembles in the field of light music, too. But there are also individuals who discredit the good image of our music. We cannot remain indifferent to the various negative phenomena occurring in this sphere, with an adverse effect on the moral values of the younger generation. This should be the responsibility of the respective institutions, the respective art agencies, the National Committees, and the managing staff of television and radio.

An important role is performed by our culture in fulfilling its internationalist mission of mutually enriching and bringing together the cultures of the socialist countries and progressive world trends in the struggle for peace and international understanding.

The importance of mass physical education and sports for a healthy physical and mental development of the population is growing steadily. In this respect the Czechoslovak Spartakiad showed quite clearly our broad background. The Party Central Committee and the Government justly appreciated the efforts of the thousands of volunteers who worked in this sphere. The Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education, *Svazarm*, schools, National Committees and other organizations must make better use of the conditions created by socialist society, making physical education a natural need for the steadily growing numbers of youth and working people as an integral part of their lives.

Slightly different is the problem of top performance sport, which attracts much attention of the public. Our socialist society allocates considerable funds to its development. There are results we can be undoubtedly proud of, but there are also sports which have stagnated for years. It should also be said that political and educational work in this field is inadequate and must be considerably improved. We must make a full appreciation of the influence of the example set by a young representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on young people and the general public. Communists in the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education and Sport must analyse the situation and propose measures to ensure that our top performance sport develops in all sectors in agreement with socialist norms.

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Comrades!

The creation of favourable external conditions for the construction of an advanced socialist society remains a primary goal of Czechoslovak foreign policy. The authority and influence of Czechoslovakia in the world stem from the successful all-round development of our society and from our country's firm place in the socialist community. The development of economic and intellectual potential increases our country's contribution to the struggle for peace, to the solution of the primary issues of our time—the elimination of the danger of nuclear war and the achievement of international security and disarmament.

Confrontation of two opposing tendencies and approaches to the issue of war and peace is a feature of today's world politics. Consequently, due to the aggressive militaristic policy of imperialism, the international situation is tense and threatens the very existence of humanity. In their efforts to weaken Socialism, to gain military and strategic superiority, even to attempt social revenge, the imperialist circles, particularly those of the United States, are accelerating the arms race and stepping up their attempts to militarize outer space. They would like to dictate their will to states and nations from a position of strength in order to prevent progressive development.

This adventurist line is opposed by the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aiming at the stabilization of international relations, at the continuation of détente, at stopping the arms race, and at disarmament. "Socialism", pointed out Comrade Mikhail Gorbachov at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "unconditionally rejects war as a means of settling interstate political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes. Our ideal is a world without weapons and violence, a world in which each people freely chooses its own path of development, its own way of life."

This indisputable truth is the basis of the programme of peace adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. It is a specific, integrated programme whose aim is to free the world from nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, to establish permanent, peaceful co-operation between nations and states with different social systems, and to build the foundations of a comprehensive system of international security. It is a realistic, comprehensible and deeply humane programme which represents the highest degree of responsibility for the future fate of human civilization. It is accepted and supported by peace-loving and progressive people throughout the world.

The peace programme of the Soviet Union is a unique opportunity for mankind. If nations are to enter the next millennium free from fears about their future, this historical opportunity must not be wasted. Our Party and all the Czechoslovak people fully support this programme. We will use all our means and abilities to make a most effective contribution to the implementation of this great peaceful prospect.

The international peace-loving public have welcomed the renewal of the top level dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States. For them, it is linked with the hope that a world without wars is a realistic possibility and that the danger of a nuclear catastrophe can be averted. Now words should be followed by deeds. The Soviet Union is moving along this path. It has proved this by concrete initiatives and unilateral measures, including a moratorium on all nuclear explosions. The whole world now justly raises the question of whether and when a realistic and responsible approach to the most significant international problem will prevail also in the United States. The positions and practical steps taken so far by the American administration show that for the present time the ruling circles of the United States are not willing to proceed towards nuclear disarmament. But the realities of the present world cannot be ignored. They show clearly that neither a nuclear war nor the arms race can be won. The ever growing potential of the peace forces is rising against the aggressive militaristic circles.

Consolidation of friendship, consistent development and expansion of co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union, remains one of the primary tasks of our foreign policy. No issue in the world politics of today can be treated without reference to the socialist community. This also accounts for our co-responsibility for the strengthening of unity and cohesion based on commonly shared Marxist-Leninist ideology and on the principles of socialist internationalism, for our co-responsibility for its further dynamic growth, and for the success of Socialism in its peaceful competition and emulation with capitalism.

The need for a rapid and all-round use of the merits of Socialism comes to the forefront both in each member country and within the whole community. This requires that we should search for new and more effective forms of co-operation in all spheres—political, economic, scientific and technological, and ideological. It means an improvement in the mechanism and methods of activities in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the interests of securing defence, coordination of foreign policies, and an all-round development of socialist economic integration.

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The path of socialist construction we have covered so far has proved the essential and permanent significance of our alliance, friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union for the Czechoslovak people's vital interests and for the security of our State. This alliance, based on deep mutual respect and understanding, and on conformity of opinion between our Communist Parties on all principal issues, represents for us not only a revolutionary legacy but also a living present, a matter of not only the mind but also of the heart. It is a certainty we can rely upon in all our plans and prospects.

We attach great importance to the solidarity of and concerted action by all socialist countries. We are prepared to fully normalize and develop relations of friendship and co-operation with the People's Republic of China.

We favour the further strengthening and development of equal relations and multifaceted co-operation with countries which have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke and embarked upon the road of independent development. Today those countries represent more than two-thirds of the States of our planet, with more than 50 per cent of the Earth's population. We consider the liberated nations to be our friends and partners in the struggle for the cause of peace and progress. Together with them we shall strive for the liquidation of dangerous hotbeds of tension and for the transformation of international economic relations, based on just democratic foundations.

The Czechoslovak people will continue to stand firmly on the side of nations struggling for their genuine independence. We reject resolutely all forms of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid.

We appreciate the role played in this struggle by the movement of non-aligned countries. By its anti-imperialist attitudes, its struggle for the liquidation of nuclear weapons and for the elimination of the danger of war, and its significant initiatives this movement helps actively in dealing with acute international problems.

In its aggressive global strategy, imperialism profits from the fateful heritage of colonialism. It misuses the economic dependence and enormous indebtedness of the developing countries, provokes conflicts, inflames contradictions and disseminates mistrust among nations. Supranational monopolies intensify their shameless exploitation and plundering of the natural riches and resources of the developing States. They would like to retain those countries forever as raw-material appendages of imperialism and a source of financing their militarist policies. They mask their hegemonistic ambitions by their alleged protection of what they call vital interests. To this effect they utilize all sorts of means, from

political, economic and military pressures, organized support for counter-revolutionary forces and dictatorial, anti-popular regimes up to a policy of State terrorism and direct military intervention. We are deeply convinced that these attempts to halt progressive development in the developing world are doomed to failure.

It is our wish to continue developing our relations with capitalist States on the basis of equality, mutually advantageous co-operation and non-interference in internal affairs. We favour an open, honest and fruitful dialogue, contributing to the creation of mutual confidence, the strengthening of international security and the invigoration of the process of détente in the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. The above Act is incompatible with any manifestations of pressure, discrimination, sanctions or embargo. Likewise, we denounce all revenge-seeking voices demanding the revision of frontiers and of post-war arrangements in Europe.

We believe that even the most complicated problems confronting the capitalist and socialist countries can be solved solely by negotiation. Progress at the Vienna talks and at the Stockholm Conference would contribute to the consolidation of stability and confidence among European States. Given good-will on the part of all participants in these meetings, concrete positive results could be achieved within a short time. Such results would create prerequisites for the utilization of new, more intensive forms of pan-European co-operation in all fields—in policy, economy, science and technology, the power industry, transport, culture, education and health care. This would make it possible to confront more actively the outstanding problem of environmental protection. It is necessary to proceed rapidly from the exchange of views and multifaceted exploration of this question to joint solutions and agreements.

Security in Europe would, no doubt, benefit from the materialization of the initiative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic aimed at creating a zone free from chemical weapons in Central Europe. We shall win over further political forces and Governments to lend their support to this proposal.

We fully support the United Nations in its significant role in the consolidation of international security and in dealing with global problems arising from the development of human civilization. By our active participation both in the United Nations and in other international organizations we shall contribute to their successful activities in strengthening peaceful co-operation and understanding among nations.

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significant political force in the struggle for peace, against the policy of imperialism and for the social transformation of the world.

We consider it our duty to support every initiative directed toward strengthening class solidarity among fraternal parties, equal co-operation in the struggle for common objectives, for peace and Socialism with due respect to the different tasks and conditions in individual parties' activities. We do not see the diversity of views concerning these or other questions as something unnatural. It emanates from different conditions of each Party's activities and from diverse approaches to problems. In the interest of concerted action we believe it necessary to develop bilateral contracts and multilateral forms of co-operation both on a regional and on a wider basis.

The safeguarding of mankind from a nuclear disaster and the solution of other problems of global character, including environmental protection, require activity and uniform approach from the working class and other working people, the co-operation of all progressive and democratic forces. In this respect the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue developing and promoting an active dialogue and co-operation with social democratic and socialist parties, with the trade union movement and with all democratic forces advocating the policy of détente and peaceful co-operation among peoples. Ideological differences between us and those forces cannot constitute an obstacle to co-operation when the averting of war, the very existence or non-existence of humanity, is involved.

We consider peace and anti-war movements as major factors in international politics. We shall continue creating the prerequisites for the Czechoslovak peace movement to take an increasingly active part in the struggle of the world peace and anti-war movements.

In our foreign policy we shall always bear in mind the fundamental interests of the Czechoslovak people, the socialist community and all that contributes to social progress and peace in the world. This line emanates from the very essence of the socialist system. Socialism, social progress and peace are indivisible.

We look to the future with optimism. In spite of the agitated international situation we are convinced that peace will be preserved. This is guaranteed by the unity of the socialist community, by co-operation and concerted action with all progressive and realistic forces in the world.

Dear Comrades!

Today, when assessing the results we have achieved over the past

years, faced with the task of discussing and determining the directions of the further construction of our advanced socialist society, when dealing with even the long-term prospects for our efforts up to the year 2000, we realize again what the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia means to our people, to our nations. The historic importance of its founding 65 years ago stands out in sharp outline when viewing the profound changes which have occurred over the past 40 years in the life and position of the working man in our country, and also with regard to what characterizes our socialist present and what allows us to set for ourselves even more ambitious tasks and plans for the future.

When recalling, at our Congress, the historic significance of the inception of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia we can state with pride that after a period of 65 years the greatness of this occasion stands confirmed by the victorious struggle against capitalism and fascism and, most of all, by the successful construction of Socialism and by the building of an advanced socialist society. On our road we also met with setbacks and defeats but never, not even in the most difficult moments, did the Communists waver in their just struggle for the vital interests of the working class and the other working people, for a better future for the nations of Czechoslovakia.

There is direct continuity between May 1921 and the socialist present. It has been confirmed by historical development that we could never have achieved the results, past or present, without our Marxist-Leninist Party. By right we are proud of our Party, proud of being members of a revolutionary vanguard which has always perceived—and perceives today—the sense of all its activities in serving the working man, in caring for his wellbeing, in striving for progress and peace.

We realize that the Party cannot simply live off its political capital acquired in the past. The working people's trust in the Party's policy is in constant need of renewal on the platform of solving current problems and of meeting the planned targets. We shall continue consistently implementing a realistic, honest, and open policy which has always been the essence of the firm links between Party and the people.

The present times and the complexity and new aspects of our tasks require us again to launch a great political battle so that these tasks can be fulfilled. First of all, much will depend on the Party, the Party bodies and organizations, on every Communist, on their efforts, self sacrifice, and on the creative atmosphere that must prevail for this struggle to be waged successfully.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia today represents a powerful political force enjoying great authority and trusted by the people. One

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million, six hundred and seventy-five thousand Communists are a great army active in all walks of life of our society. The attractiveness of Party policy is also testified by the constant influx of new vigour to its ranks. The worker core of the Party has been markedly reinforced. Workers and co-operative farmers now constitute over 50 per cent of current membership. The Party has grown younger; one third of its members are Communists under the age of 35. Thus a young guard is growing up in our Party to continue the construction of socialist society.

The Central Committee considers its prime task to care for the healthy growth of the Party, the continued upgrading of its membership and the social and age structure, strengthening its political, organizational and conceptual unity, and for the growth of its moral authority. The duty of attention to the revolutionary, pure profile of the Party and to the Communist's good name ranks among the most binding obligations bequeathed by our Party's history, among the most essential conclusions we have drawn even from the crisis development of the late 1960s.

As for admittance to the Party, we cannot lower the standard required of Communists. We must be particularly anxious to have people of character admitted to the Party ranks, people from all social strata, particularly from the industrial sphere as well as from other sectors of prime importance for the acceleration of the socio-economic and spiritual development of society, people resolved to dedicate their lives to working for our ideals. Certainly we must get rid of those who discredit the Communists' reputation and damage our Party. At the same time we must see that a Communist is moulded in the course of everyday work, by adopting and carrying through Party policy, our revolutionary ideology.

The pre-Congress discussions showed support for the proposed amendments of the Party Statute. A multitude of stimulating suggestions and recommendations were received by the Central Committee; these were given a thorough consideration and many of them, depending on the degree of importance, have been incorporated in the final draft. The purpose of the amendments now put before Congress is to make the Statute conform better to the new requirements, so that the Party can implement its leading role more effectively, so that the part played by Party bodies and organizations and the responsibility of each Communist should be strengthened and the Party's control activity reinforced.

The discussions concerning the proposed amendments to the Party Statute have made us aware of one more important thing. The Central Committee, its bodies, the Regional and District Committees of the

Party and the branches must not skirt round or ignore serious comments pointing out the need for working better and more systematically with the Party Statute, refusing to accept infringements of the Statute and taking strict measures against anyone who fails to behave as a Communist should.

Today, with the demands placed on the Communists' work rising in all areas, it is particularly important to proceed openly, which implies both the need for truthful assessments of situations, the ability to take notice of shortcomings and errors, and to be well informed and accountable regularly for one's actions. Within the Party bodies and organizations, conditions, must be created for broad participation by the Communists in handling problems, for a constructive exchange of opinion and experience and for a critical analysis of the results of work. An all-round implementation of the Leninist principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility is required. This calls for upgrading the work and enhancing the role of elected Party bodies, their plenary sessions and branch meetings, having essential issues discussed at Party meetings, making sure that burning problems are not ignored and that working people are informed about the results of the meetings. It is necessary to strip inner-party life of formalism, idle talks and meetings, and to measure activity by practical action and concrete results rather than by the number of meetings and campaigns of various sorts. This is why we attach so much importance to having the Party meetings proceed in a matter-of-fact, working fashion, so as to provide Communists with a clear-cut orientation in their actions and to motivate them for creative activity.

In this context allow me to say a few words about criticism and self-criticism. We wholeheartedly agree with what was said at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the political report presented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachov, in which he stressed that "where criticism and self-criticism chokes, where talk about successes is substituted for a Party analysis of the actual situation, all Party activity is deformed and a situation of complacency, permissiveness, and impunity arises, which leads to the most serious consequences". This is a very sensitive question. Without criticism and self-criticism it is impossible to imagine a healthy development, an atmosphere necessary for the exposure of shortcomings and the mobilization of forces for overcoming them.

We are bound by the Party Statute not to admit the suppression of criticism. The strictest action is necessary if people are persecuted for critical remarks; we must always bear in mind that any gambling with

people's confidence is inadmissible. Criticism plays its role if it is followed by self-criticism and if the mistakes and shortcomings are rectified. In Communists criticism and self-criticism we see a natural part of inner-Party life, an indispensable tool for building an advanced socialist society. However, it has nothing in common with demagoguery, disparaging honest work or assaulting honest people. While it is necessary to denounce malpractices boldly, it is also necessary to take a bold stance in defence of a just cause, against slanderers, writers of anonymous letters and the like.

The implementation of Party resolutions is a question of primary importance and one to which much greater attention must be paid from the Central Committee down to branch organizations. In this respect there are still many shortcomings in our work. It must be said that not everybody works conscientiously and selflessly and not all Party, State and economic bodies carry out their duties in keeping with the requirements of the time. We often find that resolutions are dealt with inconsistently and that personal responsibility is not stipulated in assigning tasks and their implementation is not checked. A state of affairs like that does not yield any concrete results at work. That is why great emphasis must be placed on the consistent implementation of the resolutions adopted.

We must substantially raise the standard and effectiveness of inspection in political and managerial work. Wherever its importance is underestimated, shortcomings develop into serious material, political and moral damage. Regrettably, there is still a great deal of tolerance towards shortcomings and little courage to draw consequences from them in keeping with Party Statute and the laws. Above all, Party bodies must make inspections a consistent tool of Party Leadership, in which no opportunism is admissible. No one, irrespective of his rank or assignment, can be immune from control. The Party organizations and workers concerned must be informed about the results of the inspections and the measures taken. This is a way of facing up to the spread of slanders of people and policy.

We continue to ascribe great importance to the role of the control and auditing commissions at all tiers of the Party structure. They have accomplished a great deal of work in the past, and in view of the tasks ahead they will have to cope with many obligations also in the future.

Throughout the period of socialist construction, the Party devoted great attention to cadre policy. The Party educated and trained many capable and seasoned workers devoted to Socialism and working in all sections of the life of society. The requirements imposed on the selection, training and posting of cadres and on the control of their work must

In the years since the 16th Congress, a changeover of managerial cadres has been going on within the Party and in other areas. It may be noted, as an illustration, that since the 16th Congress, nearly one-third of the secretaries and more than 45 per cent of the head secretaries of district committees have been replaced. Replacement of secretaries at the level of regional committees amounted to more than 40 per cent. Last year's annual branch meetings elected 23 per cent new committee members and more than 15 per cent new chairmen. At district conferences, 36 per cent of full and alternate members of district committees were newly elected and so were one-third of full and alternate members of regional committees.

We promote a sound stability among cadres and, at the same time, their rational replacement wherever life and work call for it.

The present tasks require us to engage to a larger extent in bolder promotion of capable, talented cadres, to link the maturity of experienced workers with the zeal and energy of youth. Amongst the ranks of our working class, co-operative farmers and the intelligentsia, capable

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people are growing up on whom we may count in this respect. This will require devoting the necessary attention to them, taking also increased care in the preparation and assignment of women to various posts. We have sufficient educational institutions for the preparation of the cadres, including Party institutions, beginning with the Political College of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

We have to always bear in mind the need for systematic improvement of both the professional and ideological, as well as political, readiness of the executive cadres. The high development of scientific knowledge and the implementation of progress in science and technology require lifelong education and upgrading of the political and professional qualification of the cadres. We must make sure that they learn and apply Marxist-Leninist theory and communist methods of work. This is a prevention against the danger of narrow professionalism and spiritless pragmatism; it is the guarantee of a broad political outlook and high culture.

The premise that with growing responsibilities and authority, the obligations and demands of each official also increase must always hold in our work with the cadres. The higher the position, the more importance this principle gains. Party bodies and organizations must take principled action against the violation of the Party Statute, socialist morality, legality and discipline, drawing strict conclusions up to the expulsion from the Party of such offenders. Those who take their office as a vehicle for high-handedness and abuse of entrusted authority have no place either in their office or in the Party.

Our cadre policies, insistence on placing high demands on their work and behaviour, logically ensue from the fact that primarily through the cadres the Party is implementing its leading role. Nowhere is it possible to leave out of account the fact that frequently people judge the whole of the Party according to the activities and actions of a single official.

By virtue of the fact that the Party exercises a leading role in society, its leading bodies take also responsibility for its correct implementation. One of the main conditions of this is the activity of all Party organizations. Forty-seven thousand Party branch organizations form a sufficiently broad base for Party influence in all areas of social life. Party bodies must, in all their activities, rely on these basic elements of our Party, and take care to enhance their independence in tackling the problems and tasks. Therefore every care must be taken to rid Party branch organizations of often useless instructions, to guide them closer to the work and life of the people.

Playing the leading role requires us not to mix Party and political

leadership with the specific management and administration of the state and economic spheres. These are different activities and their confusion must not be tolerated. However, in practice we see that some Party bodies and organizations are incorrectly assuming the tasks and obligations of state and economic bodies. This does not strengthen but weaken the leading role of the Party. The challenge and complexity of the new tasks call for the strengthening of the leading role of the Party and, at the same time, for the growth of responsibility and for sufficient room for the activities of the state, economic and social bodies and institutions, for the strengthening of the Party control of their actions.

Party bodies and organizations at all levels, from the top to bottom, must more resolutely require that all Communists in managerial positions implement the policy of the Party in the areas entrusted to them and promote all-society interests. They must regularly review their work and the tasks implemented, duly drawing their attention to mistakes and shortcomings and demanding corrective action.

There are also cases where a Party committee becomes a tool of the manager rather than a political body promoting the policy of the Party. This restricts the political initiative of Party organizations, limits their possibilities of influencing work collectives and encourages tendencies to technocracy.

The Party's leading role is made more effective with the growing wealth of inner-Party life and with the more consistent application of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. In this very principle we find a source of vital energy for the Party; it links wide democracy and free exchange of views with responsibility and a high sense of discipline.

We, the Communists, are members of a militant movement for a better and socially more just world. In this sense we strive more than ever for further consolidation of the political, organizational, ideological and action unity of the Party, this being the basic prerequisite for the achievement of the challenging tasks we are considering at our Congress. Therein lies the vanguard role of the Party in society. This role is above all expressed through specific, concrete work, through the unity of words and deeds, through everyday live contact of Communists with other working people at their workplaces and in their homes, through the ability to creatively resolve the new tasks, to overcome the contradictions of social development through the struggle for social progress, for a dynamic advance ahead.

For such activities, Communists must be well versed in all ideological and political skills; the broad public must be correctly and widely informed about our intentions and the implementation of our policies.

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The policy of our Party is an honest one, expressing the interests of the working people and resting on their support. Corresponding to this must also be methods of work with the people, based on trust in the working man and woman, in their creative potential and in their determination to make the utmost contribution to the further construction of Socialism in our homeland.

Dear Comrade Delegates,

The construction of Socialism and its further successful development are a convincing proof of the correctness of the policy of our Party. Socialism has become deeply rooted in our homeland. The aspirations of the pioneers of Socialism and of the founders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia have become reality; the aspirations of generations of Communists who waged the struggle for the rights of the working people against capital, against fascist oppression, and for national liberation; the aspirations of all those who fought and laid the foundations for the construction of Socialism in our homeland have come true. Our Party remains loyal to their revolutionary legacy. It implements this legacy and develops it further in its efforts for a further development of our socialist society.

With these considerations in mind, the Central Committee submits to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the report on its activities during the past period, as well as the draft programme for the further construction of developed Socialism in our country for the next five-year period, looking forward to the year 2000. We are convinced that the Congress proceedings will be marked by an open, efficient and creative spirit, and will be imbued with a resolve to accomplish the new tasks discussed at the Congress. Our determination is enhanced by the awareness that the programme we are outlining for the period ahead corresponds to the fundamental interests and aspirations of our working people, and that this programme is in full consonance with the endeavour of the world's revolutionary and progressive forces to secure social progress and lasting peace. Our resolve is even more intense in view of the fact that our country is a firm constituent of the socialist community, of the broad anti-imperialist front, and that we are effecting our challenging plans in indivisible fraternal co-operation with the Soviet Communists, with the Soviet people.

Whenever new tasks have arisen, our Party has asserted its ability to mobilize its own forces and the forces of the broad strata of the people for their implementation, thus confirming its historical mission as the

vanguard of the working class, the working masses. We are convinced that the same will also hold for the present. The dedication, committed discipline, enthusiasm and resolve with which the Communists will spearhead the great struggle for the implementation of the programme to be adopted at this Congress will play a decisive role.

Interview by Robert Maxwell

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Interview with Gustav Husak by Robert Maxwell

Robert Maxwell

The preservation of peace and reduction of arms, particularly nuclear arms, are the two areas of principal concern in the East-West dialogue. How would you realistically expect both sides to achieve a reduction in arms and troop levels in Europe?

Gustav Husak

The issues of peace and arms limitation—not only in Europe—are rightly at the centre of attention of both the European and world public.

In view of the growing destructive effects of weapons of mass destruction and the prospect of their further improvement, the next world war would undoubtedly mean the end of civilization, and possibly the extinction of life on the planet Earth which is the common home of mankind, regardless of differences in social systems and ideologies.

The sweeping scientific and technological progress brings formerly unforeseen possibilities, but also poses threats. It is irrefutable that world war can no longer be “a continuation of politics by other means”. No state can ensure its security by the force of arms. A world without wars is not a utopia but has become indispensable for mankind’s self-preservation.

These ideas of a philosophy of peace which were voiced at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, and at the recent congresses of the Communist and workers’ parties in other socialist countries including Czechoslovakia, are an expression of the collective efforts of the socialist community to give an adequate answer to the questions that have emerged for mankind at the close of the twentieth century. It is an expression of our conviction that the relations between the two world systems cannot be solved by military means but solely by peaceful coexistence and competition.

Ensuing from this philosophy are also the well-known proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist community both for solving the burning issues of the present and for creating a comprehensive system of international security, and conditions for the resumption of constructive international co-operation. I wish to point out at least the proposal for the phased elimination of nuclear and other mass-annihilation weapons by the year 2000, together with the prevention of militarization of outer space, the proposal for banning the tests of nuclear weapons, as well as the proposal for a substantial reduction of conventional forces and armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. These and other proposals envisage also an appropriate solution to the questions of verification of the observance of the respective agreements.

Future developments in the world and in Europe depend primarily on whether realism and political will prevails in the West for serious talks on these problems or whether the course of developments will be dictated by the aggressive circles of imperialism which, in their attempts to achieve military superiority, are pressing forward with their frantic arms build-up, with the policy of militarization and confrontation.

The initiatives and practical steps of the USSR and of the socialist community are evidence of their good will to make use of all possibilities for achieving agreement, with respect for the legitimate interests of both sides. The response of the international public to these efforts makes it justified to hope that the expectations aroused by the meeting of the highest representatives of the USSR and the USA in Geneva in November 1985 will not be frustrated and that further development will ultimately lead, despite all obstacles and difficulties, to the strengthening of peaceful coexistence which is the only alternative of mankind's future.

Robert Maxwell

Can bilateral or multilateral talks other than between the two super-powers help reduce East-West tension in Europe?

Gustav Husak

They certainly can, and—as life shows—also do help, even though, naturally, in proportion to their influence and possibilities. Of decisive importance is that all participants approach such talks with the honest endeavour to further positive trends in international developments, mutual confidence building, security and constructive cooperation in Europe.

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Robert Maxwell

Do you believe that the United Nations Organization continues to fulfil a useful role in world politics, and could its position be strengthened if so in what way?

Gustav Husak

I regard the role of the United Nations in world politics as not only useful but indispensable. Since its birth 40 years ago, which was an expression of the will of nations not to permit a new catastrophic war, it has been playing a positive role in solving a number of important international problems. At the present time, new serious questions have arisen with unprecedented urgency in the sphere of international security, as well as global tasks such as rational use of limited natural resources, the creation of a new international economic order, protection of the human environment, and others. The future of the world, with its deep contradictions and also with a growing interdependence of all forces, requires increasingly effective mechanisms of international co-operation. The United Nations as the broadest and most authoritative international forum has a great mission in this respect. It is, of course, an organization of sovereign states, and must remain such also in the future. The decisive prerequisite for enhancing its role and authority is, therefore, that the policy of the member states be guided by the spirit and letter of the UN Charter. Czechoslovakia will contribute towards this within its possibilities.

Robert Maxwell

The concept of "Europe for the Europeans" emerges periodically in political circles. What is your view of this notion and what is its current relevance?

Gustav Husak

The call for "Europe for the Europeans", and other similar slogans, or artificial constructions such as the "United States of Europe", were often in the past a cloak for various great power ambitions or anti-Soviet schemes. When political concepts of this kind are being presented today, they usually tend towards dividing rather than uniting Europe.

But in my view, what is actually needed, really important and increasingly urgent in all spheres is all-round development and deepening of political, economic, cultural and other co-operation between

European states on a bilateral, multilateral and all-European basis, as envisaged by the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The socialist countries are not responsible for Europe's division into antagonistic military blocs and do not support this. Also here, the prerequisite is to put an end to the policy of confrontation, to accept existing realities and to seek restoration of mutual confidence.

Robert Maxwell

The "German problem" is traditionally regarded as the nub of political conflict in Europe. How do you see the resolution of the question of the two German States?

Gustav Husak

The so-called German question has undergone great development and has taken many forms in the course of history. In our century, it is difficult to separate it—in the consciousness and in the historical experience of the nations of Czechoslovakia, and undoubtedly of Europe as a whole—from the role of German imperialism and militarism in the First and Second World Wars.

It is my belief that the question was resolved once and for all by the post-war order in Europe on the basis of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Two independent sovereign German states came into existence which have fundamentally different social systems. Relations between them are guided by a treaty based on the recognition of existing realities. Also relations between the two German states and East European countries are based on the realities stemming from the Second World War, including the borders between them. The treaty arrangement of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is based on the recognition of the nullity of the Munich agreement. This complex of international treaties, supported also by the Helsinki agreements, constitutes in my view the fundamental pillar of peace in Europe. Any attempts to cast doubts on the present irreversible realities in Europe, including the existence of the two German states, pose a threat to peace.

Robert Maxwell

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with your Government's approval. In what circumstances and on what timescale would you expect to see a reduction in their numbers?

Gustav Husak

The presence of a contingent of Soviet forces on the territory of Czechoslovakia on the basis of an agreement between the governments of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union is part of the collective defence system of the Warsaw Treaty. It stems from the fact that NATO units, including US army units, are deployed behind our western border. In the face of the aggressive plans of the North Atlantic pact, it is indispensable for us to provide for the external security of our state. We must also take into account the continuing attempts to question the outcome of the Second World War and the phenomena of revanchism in the FRG. On the basis of historical experience, especially from the years of Munich, the fascist occupation and the Second World War, we rely on the tested ties of alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In the course of the years, the socialist countries have put forward a number of proposals to reduce tension and the level of military confrontation in Europe. They concerned primarily the removal of medium-range nuclear missiles and chemical weapons from Europe, a substantial reduction of conventional forces and armaments, creation of zones without nuclear and chemical weapons, and other questions. Still valid is their proposal for the winding up of the military organizations of both groupings, as the first step to the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Thus far, however, the other side has failed to respond constructively to the proposals. But if it is possible to make progress in this respect, the necessary conditions will also be created for mutual reductions of the levels of armed forces in the countries of Central Europe.

Robert Maxwell

What is your view of the "Brezhnev doctrine"?

Gustav Husak

No such doctrine exists. It is merely a fabrication of bourgeois propaganda which is still being circulated in the West. Its sole purpose is to distort the relations between the countries of the socialist community.

Imperialist circles are not yet ready to reconcile themselves with the existence of the socialist countries and the socialist community just as with the orientation of some developing countries on the path of socialist development. They call the socialist world an "evil empire", an "historical aberration" and launch various "crusades" against it. All this serves as a pretext for using all means of political, economic, ideological and military pressure against it. The socialist countries are exerting great and persistent efforts aimed at development of constructive international co-operation. It is understandable, however, that these co-ordinated attempts of imperialism at social revenge are countered by the socialist countries with co-ordinated defence of their socialist gains.

Robert Maxwell

In Western minds, Czechoslovakia is inevitably linked with memories of the events of 1968. What lessons has the Party in Government drawn from that experience?

Gustav Husak

The crisis in our country in the 1960s and the events in 1968 are explained in detail in a number of documents in this publication. We considered their causes thoroughly, and drew the necessary lessons. They were embodied above all in the ambitious but realistic programme for the construction of developed socialist society which was adopted at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1971, and elaborated at its Congresses in 1976 and 1981. The essence of it was dynamic development of the national economy, growth in material and cultural standards, strengthening of the social certainties of the people, and development of socialist democracy and the people's participation in public affairs. The programme was adopted by the entire National Front which, as the representative of political power in this country, groups with the Communist Party another four political parties, the trade union movement, the youth organization, the cooperative movement and a whole number of other social organizations. Millions of our citizens have joined hands for the active implementation of this programme.

In politics, not intentions but results are decisive. I believe that the balance-sheet of the more than 15 years that have passed since the crisis, drawn up by the recent 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, shows important achievements. They include steady

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crisis-free economic growth, social stability and the unity of society, and Czechoslovakia's firm political and economic standing in the world. We have succeeded in coping with the deep changes in the world economy and with the consequences of heightened international tension. Naturally, we also have to solve a number of complex problems and to meet the increasingly demanding needs brought about by the scientific and technological revolution, and other factors. The results which we are achieving are, however, still far from being common-place in the world today. In my view, they justify our conviction that we drew the correct conclusions from the crisis.

Robert Maxwell

How do you assess Czechoslovakia's balance sheet for the past 40 years?

Gustav Husak

From the viewpoints of safeguarding the national and state interests of the Czechoslovak people, as well as from the viewpoint of economic, social and cultural development, it can be regarded as very positive. The results of socialist transformations, the dynamics of economic growth, the rising standard of living of broad sections of the people, and other aspects of development over the past four decades are dealt with in detail in a number of materials in this publication. It is not necessary to repeat them.

The establishment and development of the socialist system was, understandably, not easy, taking place in the conditions of a divided world, in a struggle against attempts of imperialism to interfere in our internal affairs. It involved seeking and testing out new paths. Certain mistakes were made, which however, we succeeded in overcoming. Generally, also in Czechoslovakia, which embarked on the socialist road as a relatively advanced state, socialism has proved its superior qualities and its development potential.

For illustration, at least some facts can be listed: The volume of industrial production in 1985 was more than 14 times higher than the pre-war level. Agricultural production, on an area one-tenth smaller and with a work force only one-third of the pre-war figure, increased by more than 50 per cent. The national income increased almost 6.5-fold since 1948, personal consumption, 3.4-fold, social consumption increased 9-fold. Two-thirds of the population live in flats built after the war. Full employment is regarded as a matter-of-course.

Socialism is a young social system, with great dynamics and prospects. Characteristic for its development is the constant search for and testing of new ways, efforts to make ever better use of its superior qualities and possibilities, to improve social relationships, forms and methods of management, all aspects of socialist democracy. We openly criticize shortcomings, weak points and problems as yet unsolved because we are convinced that we have the necessary prerequisites to surmount them, sufficient resources for further successful advance. This spirit imbued also the deliberations at the recent 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Robert Maxwell

What scope do you see for increased economic co-operation with the West either on specific projects or as a general strategy for increasing mutual prosperity and reducing political tension? To what an extent will you be seeking to extend foreign trade and economic co-operation beyond the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance/CMEA/?

Gustav Husak

In view of the size and the manufacturing character of our economy, increasing participation in the international division of labour is vitally important and indispensable for Czechoslovakia. About 45% of the national income is realized through foreign trade, and the programme for accelerated socio-economic and scientific-technological progress requires substantially higher participation in the international division of labour than at present.

For understandable political and economic reasons, our orientation is primarily on deeper participation in international socialist economic integration. This does not mean that we are not sincerely interested in developing our constant economic and scientific-technological co-operation also with states outside the CMEA on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, in the most varied forms, from the traditional to major projects with multilateral participation. We envisage this in our plans. I believe that in addition to economic benefit, this has considerable political significance for the strengthening of mutual confidence and peaceful relations.

The attempts of certain imperialist circles to use various forms of embargoes and discrimination represent undesirable political obstacles

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Robert Maxwell

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to the development of our co-operation with the capitalist countries, and introduce elements of uncertainty into it. I believe, however, that common sense and mutual economic benefit will finally prevail.

Robert Maxwell

The economic development of Czechoslovakia is heavily dependent on securing adequate energy supplies at reasonable cost. The 1977 accord with Iran on natural gas supplies for 20 years, the largest economic agreement between Czechoslovakia and a non-socialist state, was a major step in this direction. How has this been affected by the events of recent years in Iran?

Gustav Husak

The 1977 agreement with Iran, which was not implemented, was technically and economically within a broader framework of long-term agreements on supplies of Iranian natural gas across Soviet and Czechoslovak territory to Western Europe. It must be added that the agreement was to have provided only a supplementary source amounting to about 3-4 per cent of our total energy needs.

Of decisive importance for satisfying our fuel and energy requirements are increasing long-term supplies from the Soviet Union, constituting permanently almost our total imports in this field, and representing nearly 40 per cent of our consumption of fuels and energy. The supplies are in clean fuels—oil and natural gas. A great advantage for us is that we can pay for them by long-term planned supplies of our industrial goods to the Soviet Union.

Robert Maxwell

Czechoslovakia has a long and distinguished record of industrial and technological innovation and development, and remains the workshop of the CMEA. What steps are being taken to modernize industry further and to introduce greater use of advanced computerized technology in industry and agriculture?

Gustav Husak

Just as in a number of other countries, in which a strong base of traditional branches had developed in the course of previous industrial development, there is a pressing need also in Czechoslovakia for structural changes and modernization. In line with the conclusions of the 17th

Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, we intend to commence gradual reconstruction of the technical base of production with the use of the most advanced technology, and to increase substantially the share of progressive branches associated with the findings of contemporary science, primarily electronics, biotechnologies and others.

As regards microelectronics, a special state programme for its development and application has been worked out and is being implemented. Thanks to this, considerably faster progress has been made in this field. We assume that by 1990, the number of modern computers and regulation equipment in the national economy will be substantially higher. In solving these tasks, we rely on extensive co-operation within the CMEA. The application of electronics is one of the main areas of the recently adopted Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA countries up to the year 2000. For its implementation, joint production and scientific organizations will be established, and other measures will be adopted in the sphere of specialization and co-operation which will undoubtedly find a positive expression also in the pace of our progress in this sphere.

Robert Maxwell

Czechoslovakia is among the most important of West Germany's trading partners in Eastern Europe. To what extent do you envisage increased trading links with other members of the European Economic Community?

Gustav Husak

We are seeking active development of our trade, economic and scientific-technological relations with West European countries, and where these have weakened for various reasons, their activation and expansion. For a number of concrete and partly also historical reasons, the Federal Republic of Germany accounts for a relatively high percentage of our trade with West European countries. However, we are equally interested in expanding our relations with other EEC countries, and on our part are doing everything to facilitate this. We believe, for example, that it is possible and desirable to expand our economic, scientific and technological relations with Great Britain.

Generally, the development of Czechoslovakia's relations with the EEC countries depends largely on the dismantling of various trade and other barriers which impede mutual trade. In this respect, we attach

great importance to the positive solution of the question of working relations between the EEC and the CMEA.

Robert Maxwell

Turning to domestic affairs, recent years have seen tensions from time to time between Church, State and Party in Czechoslovakia. To what extent should the Marxist state accommodate religious beliefs and the continuing role of religious organizations?

Gustav Husak

Tension between the socialist state and the Roman Catholic Church occurred primarily in the post-war years, in the period of fast revolutionary transformations, because a part of the church hierarchy, associated with the old bourgeois order and partly also with fascism, took a negative attitude to the new people's power. In the course of years, however, relations between the state and churches have normalized in our country.

Freedom of confession is guaranteed by the Czechoslovak Constitution. Our state fully respects the fact that a section of the population are believers. It must be borne in mind that in our country, churches engage in religious activities in the conditions of socialist society. It is understandable that the state expects them to abide by valid laws. This provides a basis for positive development of relations between the state and churches also in the future. We also want relations between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican to be normal, and existing problems to be settled through talks and agreements.

Certain external circles have been inciting various campaigns from time to time, grossly distorting the real situation of churches in Czechoslovakia, and are trying to misuse religious feelings against the socialist system. However, the overwhelming majority of believers desire to live in peace and work for the prosperity of their socialist homeland. Our people have bitter experience from the distant and recent past with militant clericalism. I believe, therefore, that attempts to revive it have no chance of succeeding.

Robert Maxwell

Many foreign visitors to the "golden city" of Prague may be struck by the apparent preoccupation of Czech youth with Western popular

culture. To what extent do you regard "westernization" of this sort to be a social and cultural problem in your country?

Gustav Husak

Everyone can see that cultural life in Czechoslovakia is rich and varied. It has traditional links in the context of European and world democratic culture. There are also many links with English culture. We regard the growth of cultural life as one of the objectives of socialist society, which makes available considerable sums to support it. Czechoslovakia ranks high in the world in the *per capita* number of theatres, professional musical ensembles, museums and art galleries. Young people are particularly active in the sphere of culture. For example, more than 600,000 young people are members of over 30,000 popular artistic groups, from folklore to amateur cinematography.

In our country, the life of young people reflects the rhythm and style of the present time, both as regards so-called popular culture, leisure-time pursuits, interest in technology and other fields. On the periphery of the sound mainstream of the life of the great majority of our youth, there are also small groups trying to ape various fashionable excesses coming from the West. Their negative aspects, the cult of revulsion, vulgarity and violence draw criticism and cause concern on the part of sensible people even in the countries of their origin. We, too, are striving to ensure culture has a positive effect on young people. No wonder, therefore, that we are opposed to the dissemination of similar excesses.

Robert Maxwell

Slovakia's share of the national income has increased in recent years. How do you view this, and how is it viewed in the country as a whole?

Gustav Husak

As a result of capitalist development, deep differences came into existence in the course of centuries in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, in the economic and social levels in various regions. Areas of poverty and hunger existed where the people had often no other option than mass emigration. Socialism set it as its objective to eliminate these differences and this task was completed in a relatively short time.

Today, there are virtually no major differences in the socio-economic level between regions, citizens throughout the country have basically the

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same opportunities for self-assertion, the same conditions exist for meeting their material and cultural needs. All this significantly contributes to a balanced increase in the standard of living, to the better use of the resources and possibilities of individual regions, and to their increased contribution to the development and strengthening of the unity of society as a whole. Therefore, the results attained are positively regarded by the public which rightly regards them as a great achievement of socialism.

Especially great progress was made in the development of Slovakia which grew over the past 40 years into an economically, socially and culturally advanced country with modern industry and highly mechanized agriculture, with an extensively developed school system and scientific-technological base. In view of the low initial level, the speed of Slovakia's advance was especially remarkable, and could hardly be matched anywhere else in Europe. Thanks to this, the differences in the socio-economic levels of the two parts of the state were eliminated in a historically short time, and the fraternal ties linking our two nations have been strengthened. Slovakia's share in the created national income has already reached 30 per cent, and is almost equal to its share in the total population.

Robert Maxwell

The federalization of the Czechoslovak state has involved the setting up of two tiers of government (Federal and both Czech and Slovak), each with subsidiary levels. How can this be justified in a country of Czechoslovakia's size?

Gustav Husak

Since its birth in 1918, Czechoslovakia has been the state formation of the Czech and Slovak nations, and other nationalities. The inability of the ruling bourgeoisie of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia to solve the national question was one of the factors exploited by Nazism to dismember the state in 1938. One of the goals of the national liberation struggle was to build relations between Czechs and Slovaks on the principles of equality and equal rights.

The federative system through which this goal was achieved provides scope for the development of the creative forces of the two nations, for the strengthening of their fraternal relations and of the unity of the Czechoslovak state.

It was a momentous step which required an appropriate restructuring of the central bodies so that the two republics could administer the sectors entrusted to them within the framework of the federation. The experience gained over the past 15 years has shown that the federative system has fully proved its worth. Of course, the national question is of a long-term character. That is why great attention is being permanently given to its positive development, including safeguards of the rights and interests of national minorities in our country.

Robert Maxwell

What scope do you see for emulating recent trends in some other European socialist states by introducing a larger element of private enterprise into the Czechoslovak economy?

Gustav Husak

The decisive role in our national economy is played by the socialist sector which accounts for 97 per cent of the national income. Individual small-scale production, as a rule spare-time work of co-operative farmers, other employed persons and pensioners, without employing any other labour—consists mainly of fruit and vegetable growing on privately owned plots, as well as work of artisans and service operations. From the viewpoint of the overall development of the national economy, it is only of a supplementary character but plays a useful role. It is being supported, for example, by the fact that the earnings are subject to practically no taxation.

We see the main way to further improve the system of management and planning of the national economy in the development of socialist principles which have proved their worth in the past 40 years. Of course, it is necessary to constantly improve the forms and methods of their application, in keeping with new tasks, especially in scientific and technological progress.

Robert Maxwell

What is your view of Czechoslovakia's development up to 1990, and of the prospects up to the year 2000?

Gustav Husak

In drawing up the concept for Czechoslovakia's development over the

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next five years, and the outlook to the end of the century, we have proceeded from the development possibilities of our socialist society, taking into account the growing activity of the working people and the deepening process of international socialist integration.

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set as the main task faster dynamics of the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia, based on full utilization of intensive growth factors, primarily scientific-technological advances.

All this will create conditions for further rises in the standard of living, the level of meeting the material and cultural needs of the people, for qualitative improvements in education, the health service and social care, for extending leisure time and for improving the living and working environment.

Quantitatively expressed, the aim is to increase the national income by two-thirds by the year 2000, from the present relatively high level, and to increase personal consumption by about 50 per cent.

The concrete goals for the years 1986-90 are to increase the national income by 18-19 per cent, industrial production by 15-18 per cent, the volume of construction work by 10 per cent, and agricultural production by 6.3 per cent. Personal consumption will rise by 11 per cent, social consumption by 31 per cent. Economic growth will be ensured basically with the present level of raw material, material and energy inputs, by their higher utilization and productivity of labour. It will undoubtedly be a demanding task to achieve the planned objectives, but they are based on a realistic assessment of the possibilities of our society and their more effective use.

We believe that Czechoslovakia has all the necessary political, social, intellectual and material resources for the attainment of these goals. Of course, the prerequisite for this is the preservation of peace. We regard this as the most important task of the present. People in Czechoslovakia are fully aware of this and are doing everything in their power to ensure peace and progress for the present and future generations.

Some Facts and Figures concerning the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

1. Territory and Inhabitants

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a federative state consisting of: the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic (ČSR and SSR).

	Territory (square kilometres)	Number of inhabitants at 31 Dec. (thousands)		
		1937	1946	1984
ČSSR	127,903	14,447	12,075	15,480
ČSR	78,864	10,892	8689	10,337
SSR	49,039	3555	3386	5143

Ethnic groups in the ČSSR (out of every 100 inhabitants): 63 Czechs, 31 Slovaks, 4 Hungarians; the rest is made up by the ethnic minorities: Poles, Germans, Ukrainians and others.

The social structure of the ČSSR (out of every 100 inhabitants): 48 workers, 41 other employees, 10 members of agricultural and other co-operatives; self-employed persons and private farmers make up the rest.

2. National Income

In 1984 national income* stood at 541 billion Czechoslovak crowns in current prices, 35,000 Czechoslovak crowns per head of the population. The social product amounted to 1500 billion Czechoslovak crowns in 1984.

* In Czechoslovakia national income is to be regarded as new values created in the process of material production, excluding services of a non-productive character.

In 1984 national income, in comparable prices, increased by 6.3 times in comparison with 1937 and 6.5 times in comparison with 1948. The social product grew 7.5 times as compared with 1948.

Growth of Social Production (in %)

		1948	1970	1984
Social product:	1948 = 100	100	442	746
	1970 = 100		100	169
National income:	1937 = 100	97	374	626
	1948 = 100	100	386	647
	1970 = 100		100	168

In 1984 the share of industry (in current prices) in the creation of the national income was 58.7%, building production 11%, agriculture 7.5%.

Percentage Share (at Current Prices) of Social Sectors in the Creation of the National Income

	1948	1970	1984
State enterprises	62.9	86.2	86.7
Co-operative enterprises	2.6	9.7	10.3
Individual husbandry	1.1	3.3	2.3
Private sector	33.4	0.8	0.7

Development of Industrial Production

	% growth of industrial production structure (1948 = 100)		
	1970	1984	1984
Total	666	1277	100.0
Power production	718	1317	3.2
Fuel industry	403	535	6.4
Metallurgy	600	917	10.5
Engineering, electrical engineering and metal-working industry	1414	3514	33.1
Chemical industry	1534	3638	8.7
Manufacture of building materials	872	1518	3.3
Wood-working, paper and pulp industry	456	937	5.3
Glass, porcelain and ceramics industry	511	1003	1.4
Textile industry	350	597	4.9
Clothing industry	491	807	1.7
Leather industry	395	656	2.3
Food industry	371	569	13.6

3. Industry

Czechoslovakia is an industrially developed country. In 1984 its industrial output accounted for 1.2% of the world's industrial output (0.33% of the world's population).

Industrial production increased by 13.8% in 1984 in comparison with 1937. The equivalent of annual total industrial output in 1937 was produced by Czechoslovak industry in 26 days in 1984.

4. Agriculture

Share of the socialist sector in farmland: 22% in 1950, 88% in 1960 and 96% in 1984.

At the beginning of 1984 1697 co-operative farms cultivated 4.4 million hectares of farmland (average area 2526 hectares); 223 state farms operated on 1.4 million hectares of farmland (average area 6264 hectares). Most farmland belongs to other socialist organizations; a certain part is divided into small privately-owned farms up to 0.5 hectare in size.

Since 1948 agricultural output has increased 2.2 times; it is 60% higher than before the war, although nearly one-third of the then total number of workers is now employed in agriculture and the total area of farmland is smaller by 10% than at that time.

Growth of Agricultural Output

	1948	1970	1984
Development of: Total agricultural production (1936 = 100)	71	117	159
of which: Plant production	77	98	134
Livestock production	66	138	186
Agricultural production per head of the work force	105	327	556
Agricultural production per hectare of farmland	75	129	183
Grain yield (in 1000 tons)	4768	7204	11,977
Meat production (in 1000 tons)	440	1234	1727

There are 20 tractors per 1000 hectares of farmland. Cultivation and harvesting are fully mechanized (with the exception of the collection of potatoes). 261 kilograms of industrial fertilizers are used per hectare of farmland (346 kilograms per hectare of arable land).

One of the targets of socialism—to remove the differences between

town and countryside as far as working and living standards are concerned—has been generally achieved. Average wages of co-operative farmers are higher than the average wage in the national economy, and income per head of their families is higher than that in working-class families. The household equipment of co-operative farmers is of the same standard as that of other working people. Social security (pension and health insurance, family allowances and other allowances) is the same for all working people, including co-operative farmers; medical care and education are free.

5. Employment, the Labour Force

The right to work is enshrined in the Constitution; there is full employment in Czechoslovakia. With the existing full economic activity of all able-bodied men, women's economic activity has increased. In 1948 445 persons out of every 1000 inhabitants were working; in 1984 this stood at 487 persons. Women make up 46% of the total number of working people. 339,000 women (nearly 4.5% of the total) were on maternity leave in 1984.

Working People in the National Economy (average annual figures)

Working People in the National Economy				
	1948	1970	1984	
	(000s)			% of total
Total	5497	6871	7534	100.0
of which:				
Industry	1633	2632	2832	37.6
Agriculture	2237	1178	941	12.5
Building	227	554	629	8.4
Tertiary sphere	1278	2341	2946	39.1

The qualifications of the working people have also considerably increased: in 1953 there were 74 persons with secondary and higher specialized education out of every 1000 working people; in 1983, 277 persons.

6. Investments, Fixed Assets

In 1948–1984 2900 billion Czechoslovak crowns were invested in the national economy (calculated in stable prices). The fixed assets exceeded 3000 billion Czechoslovak crowns.

Development of Capital Construction and Fixed Assets (in billions of Czechoslovak crowns at 1977 prices)

	1948	1970	1984	1948-84 % increase
Investment works and deliveries	12.0	85.5	134.8	1127
Including: Construction works	9.3	54.6	77.6	840
Machinery and equipment	2.7	30.9	57.2	2098

7. Scientific-technological Base

By the end of 1984 the number of workers in science and technology (excluding teachers at institutions of higher education) stood at 189,000.

Workers and Expenditures in Science and Technology

	1955	1970	1984
Number of independent organizations	—	421	397
Number of workers (in thousands)	67.0	147.0	188.5
of this: University graduates	—	37.9	60.9
Scientific workers	—	6.8	11.7
Expenditures on science and technology as a percentage of used national income	—	3.6	3.9

8. Foreign Trade

Foreign trade turnover with socialist countries, particularly with the CMEA member countries, increased 44-fold in 1984 in comparison with 1948.

Development of Foreign Trade (in millions of Czechoslovak crowns in free on border prices)

	1948	1970	1984
Total exports	5.4	27.3	114.2
to socialist countries	2.1	19.3	86.8
to non-socialist countries	3.3	8.0	27.4
Total imports	4.9	26.6	113.7
from socialist countries	1.9	18.5	91.6
from non-socialist countries	3.0	8.1	22.1

In 1984 the socialist countries' share in the total Czechoslovak foreign trade turnover stood at 78%, of which 45% was with the Soviet Union; the share of non-socialist countries stood at 22%.

9. Standard of Living—Basic Characteristics

The main aim of socialism is the constant rise of the material and cultural level of the people. Notable features of the living standard of the present day include the relatively high level of consumption of food and industrial goods per head of the population, the high level of household equipment and the provision of a good standard of housing and social guarantees. Over one-third of all the needs of the population is covered by social consumption, including free health care and school education, old age and disability pensions, sickness benefits for all the working people and significant benefits for families with children and state subsidies for rent and for a number of communal services.

Development in Living Standard in Comparison with the Pre-war Level (1937 = 100)

	1948	1970	1984
Personal consumption per head of population	97	252	331
Social consumption (material) per head of population ¹	100	369	707
Index of real wages	—	208	255
Expenses for social benefits	—	767	1501
New housing	40	209	171
Number of doctors	91	284	468
University graduates	232	484	644

¹ 1948 = 100

10. Financial Incomes, Cost of Living of the Population

Financial incomes, particularly remuneration for work and social incomes, are the decisive element in covering the needs of the Czechoslovak people. Their real value has been permanently increased.

The cost of living increased in 1984 in comparison with the year 1953 by 15%, in comparison with 1960 by 33%, with 1970 by 19% and with 1980 by 7.8%.

Real incomes of the population have grown continuously. In 1984 they were 4.4 times higher than in 1953, 1.5 times higher than in 1970, and 5.0% higher than in 1980.

Development of the Incomes of the Population (in thousand millions of crowns)

	1953	1970	1984	1953-84 % increase
Total incomes	81	226	404	500
of this: Wages	58	149	252	433
Agriculture	6	18	26	423
Social	11	40	80	753

11. Consumption of Food, Industrial Goods and Household Equipment per Head of Population*Consumption of Food per Head of Population* (in kilos)

	1936	1948	1970	1984
Meat (excluding fish) total	34.0	28.9	71.9	84.8
Milk and milk products	205	173	196	244
Eggs (number)	138	114	277	337
Fats	14.1	10.5	19.9	22.8
Cereals	121	120	114	110
Sugar	23.2	22.4	37.7	37.5
Potatoes	119	114	103	81
Vegetables	65.5	92.2	76.3	80.5
Fruit	42.9	55.0	46.6	55.2

Consumption of Selected Industrial Goods per Head of Population

	1937	1948	1970	1984
Fabrics in general (in metres)	26	23	43	48
Footwear (in pairs)	2.4	2.4	4.7	4.7
Electricity (domestic consumption in kWh)	19.5	—	279	666
Gas (domestic consumption in cubic metres)	4.8	—	67	150

Household Equipment with Consumer Durables (consumer durables per 100 households)

	1937	1953	1970	1984
Electric washing machines	4	18	86	143
Refrigerators	1	2	56	112
Radio sets	27	69	140	196
TV sets	—	—	74	121
Private cars	2	3	18	48

12. Housing Construction

From 1945 to 1984 a total of 3,116,000 flats and houses, all with modern conveniences, were built, to which some 60% of the population moved.

The housing fund comprised 4.9 million flats in 1980; of this, 2.4 million flats were in family houses. The majority of flats are one- and two-bedroom flats. Flats with two and more bedrooms account for 45%.

Housing Construction

	1945-60	1961-70	1971-80	1981-4
Total	620.4	847.7	1263.4	384.8
of this:				
State	385.0 ¹	228.8	275.1	73.7
Co-operative	—	326.4	386.7	164.2
Enterprise	—	63.3	248.9	29.4
Private	197.8 ¹	229.2	352.7	117.5

¹ 1948-60

13. Schools and Education

Education has been made accessible to all sections of the population and is free.

In 1984, of the total number of boys and girls who completed elementary school, 36% continued to study at secondary schools, 60% decided to undertake training at secondary apprentice institutions, and 4% started work. One-third of secondary-school leavers who passed their final examinations started studies at institutions of higher education.

Since 1 September 1984 obligatory school attendance lasts ten years. Everyone must attend the eight-year elementary school providing general education, and after its completion continue to study at a gymnasium (general education secondary school), a secondary specialized school (these two types are four-year schools concluded by final examinations), or a secondary apprentice training institution (two- or four-year institutions; the four-year courses are concluded by final examination). Students who pass the final examinations can continue their studies at institutions of higher education (studies last from four to six years).

In 1984 girls accounted for 40% of apprentices, 62% of students at gymnasiums and secondary specialized schools, and 43% of students at institutions of higher education.

The education system is completed by pre-school and out-of-school facilities, which particularly facilitate the employment of mothers.

Number of Pupils, Apprentices, Students (in thousands)

	1936/37	1948/49	1970/71	1984/85
Pupils at elementary schools	1164	1523	1966	2037
Apprentices	130	151	349	413
Students at: Gymnasiums	47	70	110	138
Secondary specialized schools	76	93	286	271
Institutions of higher education	27	65	131	174

Crèches and Nursery Schools (in thousands)

	1937	1948	1970	1984
Number of places at crèches	1.3	6.0	76.8	122.3
Number of children at nursery schools	104.6	205.4	377.6	700.5

Nursery schools are attended by 94% of the children of the appropriate age group.

In 1950, out of every 1000 inhabitants over 24 years of age, 119 had secondary and professional education, and 10 had higher education; in 1980 these figures stood at 456 and 60 respectively.

14. Health Care

Health care is free for all citizens and covers preventive care, out-patient treatment, dental care, treatment at all medical facilities including all medical help, spa treatment, rehabilitation, medicines and medical aids. The extensive system of medical facilities and the large number of medical workers and doctors mean that health care is accessible to all.

Numbers of Doctors and Beds

	1937	1948	1970	1984
Number of inhabitants per doctor	1236	1158	432	283
Number of beds in health facilities per 1000 inhabitants	5.8	8.9	12.2	12.5

15. Social Security

Old age and disability pensions are guaranteed for all the working people and are unified for workers, employees and members of co-operatives. Men are entitled to old-age pensions on reaching the age of 60, 58 or 55 years, depending on the job they perform, women on reaching the age of 53-57, according to the number of children they have brought up. The sum of the pension is derived from average pay, total length of employment and the demands of the job performed.

In event of illness, all working people receive sickness benefits which amount to 70% of the net wage for the first three days of incapacity and 90% for all further days (the maximum daily amount is limited to a sum equalling the present-day average daily wage).

Development of Pensions and Sickness Insurance

	1937	1950	1970	1984
Number of persons eligible for pensions insurance (in thousands)	3086	5138	7193	8067
Number of pensions paid (in thousands)	1238	1711	3319	3954
Pensions (thousand millions of Czechoslovak crowns)	4.8	5.3	24.7	50.4
Sickness benefits (thousand millions of Czechoslovak crowns)	0.4	0.8	5.8	7.8

Social aid for families with children includes a number of benefits and measures. A post-natal grant is provided for all mothers. Paid maternity leave is provided for 26 weeks, in certain cases up to 35 weeks, and mothers receive benefits amounting to 90% of their former net pay. After the paid maternity leave, women have the right to additional maternity leave until the child reaches the age of three.

All mothers with a child under 1 year have the right to maternity benefits; single mothers receive maternity benefits until the child reaches the age of 2; married women receive maternity benefits until the child reaches the age of 2 if they have at least one other dependent child (up to a maximum of 26 years).

Child benefits are provided for dependent children up to 26 years of age.

The total social aid for families with children amounts to 7.2%, and pensions to 9.8% of the used national income.

Social Aid for Families with Children (in millions of Czechoslovak crowns)

	1948	1970	1984
Social aid for families with children	—	20,291	37,016
of this: Non-cash forms (state expenditures on children's facilities and different subsidies)	—	10,220	14,944
Direct financial aid	890	10,071	22,072
Of this: child benefits	772	7607	15,537

16. Culture

Deep social and economic changes have created conditions for the all-round development of culture significantly supported by the state and public institutions.

The Development of Theatres and Book Publishing

	1937	1948	1970	1984
Theatres: Permanent stages	52	60	83	82
Visitors (in millions)	5.0	9.2	9.5	8.6
Books: Titles issued	6490	6640	6235	7128
Copies in millions	32.0	44.2	80.1	98.2

A number of other cultural establishments contribute to cultural life: these include 23 state music ensembles and orchestras, 225 museums with 257 branches, 44 galleries.

*Federal Statistical Office
of Czechoslovakia, 1985*

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